SOLDIERING IN INDIA

1764-1787

W. C. MACPHERSON

SHAH ALAM, 1728-1806.

EMPEROR OF DELHI, 1759-1806.

Soldiering in India

1764-1787

Extracts from Journals and Letters left by Lt. Colonel Allan Macpherson and Lt. Colonel John Macpherson of the East India Company's Service

EDITED BY

WILLIAM CHARLES MACPHERSON
C.S.I.

FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

William Blackwood & Sons Ltd.
Edinburgh and London
1928

Printed in Great Britain

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In Memory of Old Soldiers.

REFERENCE

INTRODUCTION.

THE editor of these Journals began his task with the intention of compiling family annals only, in fulfilment of a pious duty to those who have gone before and who come after. It has appeared to him, however, that the records left by his great-grandfather and great-grand-uncle for the years 1770 to 1787 have interest for general readers—as throwing light on the life of soldiers serving at that time in India, as giving information not before published (at least in popular and available books) of early marches of British forces in Oudh and Rohilkhand in 1772-73; of the Rohilla Campaign of 1774; also with regard to the detailed negotiations with the Marathas which preceded and followed the Treaty of Purandhar in 1776; of early marches (1779) in Chota Nagpore; also as adding something to what has been told of Bengal and Calcutta in the days of Warren Hastings by Busteed, Hickey, Mrs Fay, Sydney C. Grier, Colonel Wylly in his 'Life of Sir Eyre Coote,' by writers in 'Bengal Past and Present,' and others.

When Allan and John Macpherson had served about half their time with the East India Company the North-West Frontier Stations were the Patna, Dinapore, and Monghyr Cantonments, with out-

lying detachments at Chunar, Benares, and Allahabad. Thence they made marches into the territories of the Nawab of Oudh to repel the Marathas, and into the Rohilla country for punitive purposes. By the end of their service detachments were cantoned at Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Fatehgarh.

Colonel Upton's march across India from Calcutta to Poona in 1775-76 in order to conduct negotiations with the Marathas, under the orders of Mr Hastings and his Council and in supersession of the Bombay Government, was a notable march, which preceded Colonel Goddard's march by three years.

It may be considered that the reproductions of entries in journals giving only names of places and distances is tedious and uninteresting; but it has been decided to give these entries in full to enable students of old times to trace marches more readily and to help appreciation of the strenuous life of a marching soldier in India in those days.

The Journals are allowed to speak for themselves, with addition only of occasional explanations of the history of the time and notes of reference.

The editor has tried faithfully to reproduce his great-grandfather's various spellings of Indian names and other words (thus "Marrattoes" "Mahrattas," &c., instead of the present "Marathas"; "causs" or "coss" instead of "kos"; "Nabob Vizier" instead of "Nawab Wazir").

In his own comment and explanation, except when quoting, the editor tries to follow the spelling at present authorised, but fears that he does not always succeed in this.

If readers who find in these Memoirs the names

of relations or old friends of their families should wish to have any information that may be afforded in extant letters left by Colonel Allan Macpherson and Colonel John Macpherson, it would be a pleasure to the editor to extract and send it.

With grateful thanks to his wife and daughters, who copied and arranged papers for him and encouraged him in his work; and to Sir William Foster, C.I.E., Historiographer of the India Office; to Mr Charles W. Oldham, C.S.I., formerly of the Indian Civil Service; and to Colonel Harold Wylly, C.B., for advice and help.

W. C. M.

Blairgowrie House,
Blairgowrie. 1927.

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(By permission of the authorities.)

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(Reproduced with permission of Secretary of State for India.)

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(Prepared by C. A. Oldham, Esq., C.S.I.)

SOLDIERING IN INDIA

1764 to 1787

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS, FAMILY HISTORY, AND PRIVATE LIFE OF ALLAN AND JOHN MACPHERSON.

Parentage and early days in Badenoch, Inverness-shire. Allan enlists in the ranks of the Black Watch, 1756 or 1757; fought at Ticonderoga in Canada, 1759, and at Havannah, 1762. Cadet in the East India Company's service, 1763, and goes to India, 1764. John goes to India, 1759, as an Ensign in 89th Regiment, and becomes a Company's officer, 1764. Both rise to be Lieut.-Colonels; Allan to be Q.M.G. Allan marries in 1782; children; houses in Calcutta and Barrackpore; Private Secretary to Mr John Macpherson, Governor-General of India, 1785-86; leaves India, January 1787. Buys Blairgowrie in Perthshire, 1788; commands Volunteer Battalions in Perthshire, 1798 to 1805; dies in 1816. John leaves India in 1782; marries in 1783; dies in 1784. Portraits.

Allan and John Macpherson, from whose journals and other records these Memoirs are for the most part compiled, were the sons of William, Purser of their Clan, who was killed at the battle of Falkirk on the 17th January 1746. He held the post of Purser to the Clan probably on account of his near relationship to the Chief; he was nephew to Lachlan of Nuid, 20th Chief of the Clan, and cousin to Lachlan's son, "Ewan of the '45." Their mother was Anna Macpherson, sister of Donald Macpherson of Kinloch (Laggan) and Alexander Macpherson of Druiminuird, in Badenoch, Inverness. Anna was

"relict of —— Grant of Laggan." The brothers were born in Badenoch, Allan in the year 1740 and John a year or two later. Their sister, Isobel, died unmarried in 1769.

Little is on record about the childhood of the two brothers, which they spent in Badenoch. They seem to have lost their mother as well as their father while they were still young. An early memory of Allan's, handed down by word of mouth, was of throwing stones at the troops who burned Cluny Castle in Badenoch, after Culloden. A paper in Allan's handwriting states that he was brought up in the early part of his life in Badenoch with his cousin, James Macpherson, translator of Ossian, who was born in 1736, and was therefore 4 years older. Writing from India to his maternal uncle, Alexander Macpherson, who was living at Perth in Janry. 1774, Allan refers to "the parental care you and my dear Aunt took of me in my early days"; and writing to his cousin, James Macpherson, in the same month, Allan speaks of this Alexander Macpherson as "my dear Uncle Alexander, who lived in Druiminuird." It seems, therefore, that after losing their parents Allan and John lived at first with their maternal uncle Alexander in Druiminuird, near Strathmashie, and later with their paternal uncle Andrew at Ruthven, where they got their schooling.

Between his sixteenth and seventeenth years, that is in 1756 or 1757, Allan enlisted in the ranks of the Black Watch or 42nd Regiment. Writing in April 1816, a month before his death, in reply to inquiries made by Col. David Stewart of Garth, who wrote to him that "no man now alive can give such correct information of the period of the service of the Regiment from 1755 to 1763," Col. Allan Macpherson states that he "went to North America in the beginning of 1757 as one in the three

additional companies that were then given to the 42nd Regiment." He continues: "I remember that this Regiment on the 8th July 1758, when going to attack Ticonderoga, was 1100 rank and file, then with buff facings. But upon our loss then sustained, being 22 Officers and 502 rank and file killed and wounded, it was upon this occasion the Regiment was made Royal, as soon as it became known to His Majesty. . . .

"Our attack upon Ticonderoga at this time was unsuccessful, but we took it in the following year, 1759, under Sir Jeffrey Amherst. Our repulse in 1758 was under General Abercromby, when the brave Lord Howe was killed at the head of our Grenadiers." [1] Unfortunately Col. Allan Macpherson's health was fast failing when he received Col. Stewart's call for information about the early history of the Black Watch, and he added nothing to the note above extracted; and he has left little besides on record about his six years' service in North America and the West Indies.

After the second and successful attack on Fort Ticonderoga, his Regiment took part in the campaign of 1760 on the St Lawrence which ended with the capture of Montreal and the overthrow of the French power in Canada. In 1762 he was in the force which captured Havannah in Cuba from the Spanish after the storming of El Moro. After the peace of 1762 the Regiment was reduced to one Battalion, and in October was transferred from

[1] In fact the warrant of King George the Second directing that the 42nd Regiment should "be called and distinguished by the Title and Name of our 42nd or Royal Highland Regiment of Foot" bears date 22nd July 1758. It must have been issued before the news of Ticonderoga reached England. See the 'Historical Record of the Regiment,' published in 1837, p. 49.

The Army records say that the Black Watch lost 647 killed and wounded at Ticonderoga. Brig.-General Viscount Howe was killed in 1758 in a preliminary skirmish. ('Historical Records of the Regiment,' pp. 46-47.)

Havannah to North America. Allan Macpherson took his discharge from the Regiment and returned to Scotland at the end of 1762. In a letter written to James Macpherson of Ardersier (grandfather of Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C.), Allan refers to an account given by Ardersier of his son Duncan's recent arrival at Messina in Sicily, and of the astonishment of the Sicilians at his highland dress. He says: "The account Duncan gives of the curiosity occasioned by his highland dress is really very laughable; but it is not to be so much wondered at in so distant a part of the world, when I assure you that a similar circumstance happened to myself even in Bristol in England when I arrived from America in the year 1762. I was dressed in the uniform of the 42nd or Royal Highlanders, to which I then belonged; a great crowd of people came round me and a respectable looking man asked me, 'Pray, sir, forgive me for asking whether you be with us or against us—for I never saw such a dress before.'"

Part of the year 1763 was spent by Allan in Badenoch. He then obtained a military cadetship in the East India Company's service, and went to India at the end of 1763 or the beginning of 1764. Meanwhile his younger brother, John, had gone to India as an Ensign in the 89th Regt. (Gordons), and on the disbandment (or ? the recall—see p. 122 of Wylly's 'Life of Sir Eyre Coote') of that regiment[1] obtained a commission in the Company's service in 1764. The lives of the two brothers in India will be followed separately in these Memoirs; Allan, for many years of his Indian service, was a Staff officer; John's entire service was regimental; both obtained the rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

On 3rd Jan. 1782 Allan Macpherson married Miss

[1] Col. David Stewart says on page 84 of Vol. ii of his "Sketches" that this regiment was reduced in 1765.

Eliza Dell Fraser of the family of Frasers of Fairfield, near Inverness. Miss Fraser had arrived in India in Jan. 1781 in charge of Capt. Vanas and Mrs Vanas; Capt. Vanas being the brother-in-law of her kinsman, Brig.-General Simon Fraser of Balnain (who was killed at Saratoga in 1777). Writing to her mother, Miss Fraser describes her voyage, on which she embarked at Portsmouth on 3rd June 1780.

"We made Rio de Janeiro, the Capital of the Brazils, on 27th August." After giving an account of Rio de Janeiro, she continues: "We sailed from thence on the 19th Sept., and to escape our enemies (the French ships of war) went as far to the southward as 42 degrees. . . . We did not direct our course to the N. till we made longitude 80, and then we made for Madras. After a voyage of near 8 months, we landed to view distress and melancholy on the countenance of every inhabitant."

The "distress and melancholy" were due to the fact that the town was beset by Hyder Ali by land, and by the French by sea.

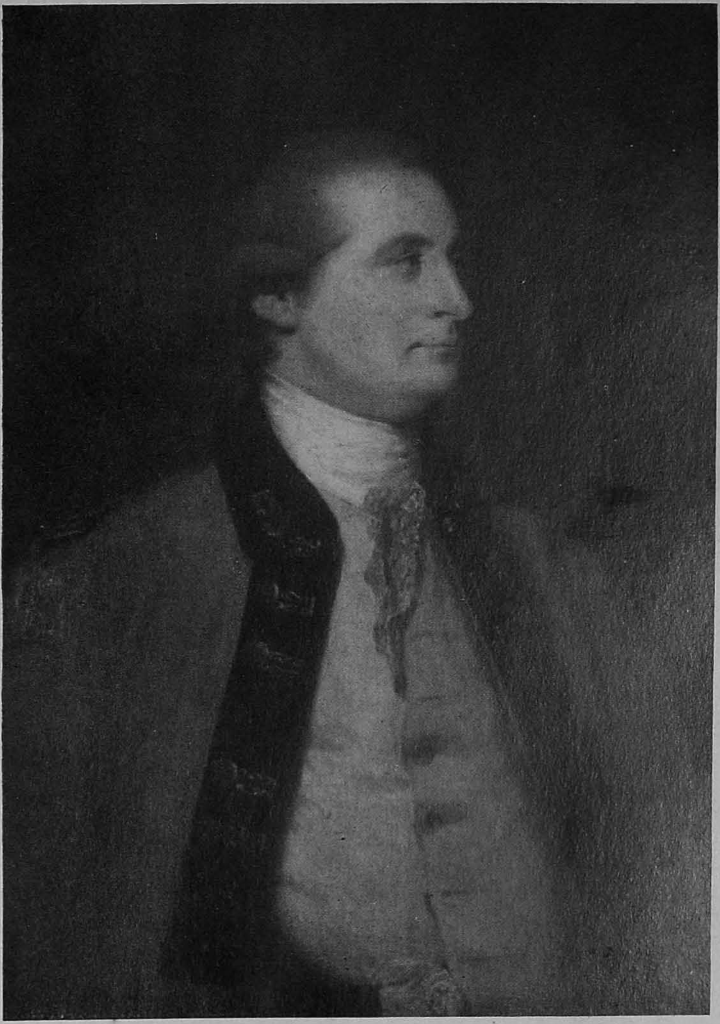
Miss Fraser stayed in Madras till the end of August 1781, and then sailed for Bengal in acceptance of invitations from Mrs John Craigie, sister of Capt. Vanas and of Mrs Brig.-Gen. Fraser. Mr John Craigie was in the E. India Co.'s service at Cossimbazar. On arrival at Calcutta on 7th Sept. 1781, Miss Fraser was warmly welcomed by Lieut. John Murray,[1] Secretary of the Board of Ordnance, and Mrs Murray, to whom she had letters of introduction from Mrs Mackenzie, wife of Capt. (George ?) Mackenzie of the 73rd Regt., then serving in Madras. Allan Macpherson met her in the house of his friends, the Murrays, and accompanied her for part of her journey when she left Calcutta in the middle of October by boat for Cossimbazar, under the escort of

[1] Afterwards Sir John Macgregor Murray of Lanrick Castle, Perthshire.

Lieut. Alexander Murray and Lieut. Peter Murray, brothers of her host. He had asked for her hand before he left her to return to Calcutta on business connected with his appointment to the Quartermaster-Generalship. With some assurance sent from Cossimbazar by his friend Alex. Murray of a favourable issue, he went to Cossimbazar in November, and was successful in his suit. His letters of courtship, to which Miss Fraser would not reply till after his arrival at Cossimbazar, Alex. Murray's charming letters of encouragement and congratulation, and some of Miss Fraser's letters to Mrs Murray, in Calcutta, are extant. Miss Fraser returned to Calcutta by boat in December to the house of Lieut. and Mrs John Murray, from which she was married on 3rd January 1782.

The last 5 years of his Indian service, from Jan. 1782 to Jan. 1787, were spent by Lt.-Col. Allan Macpherson and Mrs Macpherson in Calcutta (where he had both a town house and a garden house) and at Barrackpore. In Calcutta Colonel Macpherson and his cousin, Capt. John MacIntyre, owned jointly "the Corner House opposite the New Church" (St. John's Church, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1784), and they lived there together for a time. In his instructions to his attorneys, written when he was about to leave Calcutta in Janry. 1787, he says of this house: "The Corner House, now occupied by Mr John Macpherson, to the Westward of Mr Stone's shop, is the joint property of Captn. John MacIntyre and myself. It was built in 1781-2 by Mr Adams, from whom we purchased it at Current rupees 40,000, but we have since built a back stair and purchased from the Honble Company the long range of Stables to the Southward of the house for 6500 sicca[1] rupees, and exchanged the former stables with Mr Stone for the ground

[1] See note on page 46.



Lt. Colonel ALLAN MACPHERSON (of Blairgowrie).
1740-1816.

Quarter Master General in Bengal 1781 to 1787.

(From a Portrait painted in Calcutta in 1782, by Thos. J. Seton.)

between the house and the shop on which I built a new range of offices which, with the new verandah now building, will make it one of the most convenient houses in Town. I think it will always let well. I would not, therefore, have it sold under the original cost. . . . I should hope 600 sicca rupees a month, with all its present conveniences, would not be thought dear."

Writing in August 1786 to Capt. MacIntyre (on leave at home) Col. Macpherson says that he is about to vacate this house as he is anxious to get it sold. Writing again in December, he mentions that the ex-Governor-General, Mr John Macpherson, is living in the house. He describes improvements which have been made to the house, including addition of a verandah to the middle floor, and adds: "Everybody allows that our house will now be the completest in Calcutta." The editor has not been able to discover where Col. Macpherson's "Garden House"[1] was. The papers show that it was let to Mr Bruere from 1785 for 4000 rupees sicca a year, and in his instructions to his attorney, Col. Macpherson says, "I have sold my Garden house with all the ground belonging to it, and the ground I purchased from Mr Creighton, with the bazar, &c., to Mr Adam Turnbull for 25,000 sicca rupees, which he is to pay me in a year or two" (in fact he never paid but became bankrupt). The bungalow at Barrackpore was sold to the Company for 5220 rupees.

During his last 5 months in Calcutta Col. Macpherson lived in a house described as "the new house built by Macfarlane at the end of the stables," for which he paid a rent of Rs. 400 a month to Mr William Terraneau—apparently a house in Church Street close to his own house.

Col. Macpherson's first child, Eliza, died in in-

[1] It was bought from Mr James Wooley.

fancy. Two more children, William and Harriet, were born in 1784 and 1786, and their youngest child, Allan, was born in 1787, after their return to Europe.

On 10th November 1784 Col. Macpherson writes to Maj.-General Giles Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief, "Sir, I shall esteem myself much obliged to you if you will do me the favour to recommend my son, William Macpherson, to the Honble. the Governor-General and Council to be appointed a minor cadet on this establishment. He is now about 2 months and a half old, and I hope they will be pleased to grant me this indulgence. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, &c., &c." No answer to this letter is forthcoming, but household accounts show that an allowance of Rs. 50 a month was paid to Master William Macpherson by the Paymaster to the Garrison of Fort William from December 1784.

For the period 1782-1787, save for a few months during which the appointment was in abeyance, Lt.-Col. Macpherson held the post of Quartermaster General in Bengal, for the first three years under Warren Hastings, for the next 20 months under Mr John Macpherson,[1] who acted as Governor-General

[1] Mr John Macpherson (afterwards Sir John Macpherson) was son of Dr John Macpherson, minister of Sleat in Skye. He first went to India in 1767 as purser of the *Mansfield* Indiaman, commanded by his uncle, Captain Macleod. In 1768, when on the Malabar coast, he joined the storming party at the siege of Mangalore as a volunteer, and was one of the first to enter the fort when it was taken by assault. Having been introduced to the Nawab of Arcot (Wilson's note on p. 7 of Vol. vii. of Mill's 'History of British India'), he "acquired so much consideration with him" that he was entrusted with letters addressed by the Nawab to the Duke of Grafton. In 1770 he was appointed a writer in the East India Company's service in Madras. In 1774 he was Paymaster to the Forces. In 1776 he was dismissed the service by Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, and his Council on the ground that he had intrigued in favour of the Nawab of Arcot and against the interest of the Company. He returned to England in 1777, again bearing letters from the Nawab to the Ministry. He was favourably received by Lord North, was

until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and from Sept. 1786 to Jan. 1787 under Lord Cornwallis. He was also Private Secretary and Persian Interpreter to Mr John Macpherson.

Lt.-Col. Allan Macpherson embarked for Europe with his family, and with Mr John Macpherson, the retiring Governor-General, on board the *Berrington,* on 23rd Jan. 1787, sailed on 29th January and arrived at Southampton in August 1787. In 1788 he bought the estate of Blairgowrie in Perthshire from Mr Thomas Graham of Balgowan (afterwards Lord Lynedoch). In acquiring an estate in Scotland, Col. Allan fulfilled a wish which had long been in his mind, and about which he had frequently written to his cousin, James Macpherson.

The properties of Raitt (now Balavil) and Phoness, in Badenoch, were originally purchased by James for him, but ultimately were transferred to James on purchase of the Blairgowrie property. For the rest of his life, save for frequent visits to England, Col. Allan lived at Blairgowrie and took much interest in County affairs. He gave special attention to the construction of the Highland Road (to the Bridge of Cally). When the Volunteer forces were formed to meet Napoleon's threats of invasion,

elected to Parliament as Member for Cricklade in 1779, and he and James Macpherson both supported Lord North with their pens. He was restored to his rank in the Company's service by the Court of Directors, but remained in England till January 1781, when he was appointed to succeed Mr Richard Barwell in the Supreme Council, Bengal.

It was no doubt through John's influence with the Nawab of Arcot that James Macpherson succeeded him as agent for the Nawab in London. John Macpherson was known as the "Gentle Giant" and also as "the Thane." It does not appear that John Macpherson was related either to Colonel Allan Macpherson or to James Macpherson, except as a fellow-clansman. The Sleat branch of the Macphersons followed the Macdonalds to Skye, and became their hereditary standard-bearers in that island, as Sir John Macpherson tells in a letter written in 1798 to Sub-Principal Macleod of King's College, Aberdeen.

Col. Allan Macpherson raised and commanded the 1st, or Strathmore and Stormont, Battalion of Perthshire Volunteers from July 1798 to May 1802; and the 2nd, or Belmont and North Strathmore, Battalion from 1803 to 1805. A silver cup presented to him bears the inscription: "Allanus Macpherson de Blairgowrie Armigero Primæ Cohortis Legionis Voluntariorum Militum Provinciæ Perthensis Protribuno dignissimo hocce poculum assensione omnium ordinum animoque gratissimo, dono datum est. An. MDCCCIII." He died at Blairgowrie in May 1816, and his wife died in 1836: their graves are in the parish churchyard at Blairgowrie.

Lt.-Col. John Macpherson, after 22 years' service in India, returned to Europe in broken health in 1782. In 1783 he married Grace Hay, a Banffshire lady, and died in the following year. His grave is in the Greyfriars' Churchyard in Edinburgh. His widow later married his friend, Lt.-Col. Alex. Macgregor Murray.

Portraits by John Thomas Seton of Col. Allan and Mrs Macpherson, and of Col. John Macpherson, painted in Bengal in 1782, are at Blairgowrie House; and portraits of Col. Allan and Mrs Macpherson, by the same artist, are in the possession of His Honour Judge Alan Macpherson. Allan has brown eyes and powdered hair; he wears a scarlet coat, white waistcoat, and white lace stock. John has blue eyes and brown hair, and wears a scarlet coat with black facings, high white waistcoat, and stock.

CHAPTER II.

ALLAN MACPHERSON'S EARLY SERVICE IN INDIA, 1764-69.

Allan Macpherson arrives in Bengal, 1764. State of Upper India in 1764. Broome's account of the Bengal Army as it was at this time. Allan Macpherson at reduction of Chunar Fort, 1765. Adjutant of 1st Regiment at Monghyr and A.D.C. to Sir Robert Fletcher, 1766. Was one of forty-two officers who resigned their commissions in discontent with the orders about field allowance. Serves "on the coast" under Colonel Peach, 1767 to 1769. His pay and private accounts, 1764-67.

About a year after his return from North America, Allan Macpherson went to India as an Ensign in the East India Company's service. Dodwell and Miles's 'List of officers of the Indian Army,' printed in 1838, states that Allan Macpherson was a Cadet in 1763 and an Ensign on 20th September 1764. His Commission as an Ensign is signed on the latter date by Henry Vansittart, Governor of Fort William; and his Commission as a Lieutenant, with effect from 18th October 1765, is signed by Clive.

There is no reference in the records at Blairgowrie to Allan Macpherson's voyage to India, or mention of his arrival there, except in notes written by him in later life, which state that he went to India in 1764 in the same ship with Sir Robert Fletcher of the Bengal Army, to whom he had been recommended by Captain Thomas Fletcher, his brother.

Allan Macpherson had served under Captain Thomas Fletcher [1] in the Black Watch in Canada.

The state of Upper India in 1764 may be briefly described. The Emperor Alamgir the 2nd had been murdered by his Minister at the end of 1759. His son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Alam, had been a fugitive from Delhi for the last year of his father's reign, and had been wandering in Bihar with a rabble of troops, supported by Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.[2] At Delhi the Rohilla Chief, Najib-ud-Daula, was administering in the name of Prince Jewan Bakht, son of Shah Alam, such powers as remained to the Emperor at the Capital. With the waning power of the Emperor the Nawab Wazir of Oudh had been for some years practically an independent sovereign of that Province. The Marathas, who were recovering from their overthrow by Abdul Shah Durani at Panipat in January 1761, were again making incursions into Hindustan; one of their chiefs, Janoji Bhonslay, was in possession of the Province of Cuttack, which in 1751 had been ceded to his father by Ali Verdi Khan, Subadar of

[1] Colonel Thomas Fletcher, as he became afterwards, was killed near Conjeveram in the disaster which befell Colonel Baillie's detachment in 1780. He writes to Allan Macpherson in 1766, before leaving Bengal for Madras:—

"Calcutta, *Decm.* 10*th* 1766.

"My friend Allan,

Before I leave this bless'd settlement (as I flatter myself you are a little interested on the occasion), I'll tell you the cause of my departure.

In the first place, were I to remain it would be with the mortification of serving under younger officers, for no other reason I'm told, but because they did not resign the service; I shall leave you to judge whether a Royal Highlander is therefore to suffer himself to be superceded—no, if he does, his prospects elsewhere must be poorer than mine—and in the next place, by returning to the coast, I shall in a few months be within one or two of a majority by the resignation of four field officers who are going home. . . ."

[2] Shuja-ud-Daula had succeeded his father, Safdar Jung, in 1759. He was the grandson of Sadat Khan, founder of the Oudh dynasty.

Bengal. In Bengal hostilities broke out between the English and Mir Kasim, Subadar, in 1763. The Subadar's troops were defeated at Geriah and Oodenwala; Monghyr, his capital, and Patna were captured after the massacre of prisoners at Patna under the Subadar's orders, and the Subadar took refuge with Shuja ud Daula in Oudh.

At the beginning of 1764 the Emperor and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh invaded Bihar in support of Mir Kasim, and attacked Major Carnac in his lines at Patna, but were beaten off on the 3rd May, and retreated to Buxar in Shahabad. In June 1764 a force under Major Champion crossed the Ganges, and marched through Saran, which was reduced to subjection. In August Major Hector Munro took command of the Army, and after quelling a mutiny of Captain Galliez's sepoys in Saran, where he caused eight of the mutineers to be blown from guns in Chapra Cantonment [1] and twenty more to be similarly dealt with in other stations, he marched with 7000 men to attack the Nawab Wazir at Buxar. On the 23rd October, the Nawab Wazir, confident of victory, moved out of his entrenchments with 50,000 men to give battle, but was completely routed by Munro, and was obliged to abandon his camp, with 130 pieces of cannon. Marshman says: "The victory of Buxar was scarcely less important than that of Plassey. It demolished the power of Shuja-ud-Daula . . . made the English masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the sea, and placed Hindustan at their feet." Other historians consider that Buxar was a more important victory even than Plassey.[2] After the

[1] The editor of these Memoirs was told of this incident, which was still remembered in local tradition when he was magistrate at Chapra in 1897-1900.

[2] The latest account of the battle of Buxar is the scholarly paper published in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal by

battle of Buxar the Emperor Shah Alam joined the British camp, representing that he had been a prisoner in Shuja-ud-Daula's hands. The force moved in November to Benares, and made an unsuccessful assault on Chunar in December. In January 1765 Major Munro made over the command of the Army in the field to Sir Robert Fletcher, pending the arrival of General Carnac. The Army took Allahabad and the fortress of Chunar in February 1765. General Carnac then joined the army, marched into Oudh, and halted in Faizabad. The Marathas were now supporting Shuja-ud-Daula.[1] In May, Sir Robert Fletcher defeated them at Kora and at Kalpi, on the Jumna. After these engagements the Nawab Wazir made overtures to General Carnac, was received by him, and was reconciled to the Emperor Shah Alam.

It was amidst these events that Allan Macpherson began his service in Bengal, and it seems probable that he joined the Company's European Battalion ("The Regiment") at Buxar on the day after the battle, as Col. Innes writes that "Sir Robert Fletcher (with whom Allan Macpherson had come to Bengal) of the Bengal European Regiment rejoined on Oct. 24th, the day after the Battle of Buxar, with 300 recruits." Probably Allan Macpherson and his brother John, who had come with Hector Munro from Madras, met after 8 years' separation on the day after the battle of Buxar—Allan as a newly joined Company's officer and John as a King's officer (of the 89th Regt.) of 5 years' standing. John had fought in the battle; and later was severely

Mr Charles Oldham, C.S.I. (reprinted in March 1926). The older accessible accounts are to be found in Captain Williams's 'Historical Account of the Bengal Native Infantry,' Captain Broome's 'History of the Bengal Army,' Colonel Malleson's 'Decisive Battles of India,' Colonel Innes's 'History of the Bengal European Regiment,' and 'The Swinton Family Records' (privately printed in 1908).

[1] Duff, 'History of the Marathas,' ii. 219.

wounded in the first assault on Chunar in December 1764. Allan took part in the reduction of Chunar in Febry. 1765 and in the subsequent successful actions against the Marathas, in which his Regiment suffered severe casualties (Innes). Meanwhile Lord Clive had arrived in Calcutta on the 3rd May 1765 on appointment from England as President of the Bengal Council. He left Calcutta on the 13th June 1765, and in August arranged terms at Allahabad with the Nawab Wazir and the Emperor. He restored to the Nawab Wazir his dominions except the two districts of Kora and Allahabad, which he reserved for the Emperor, Shah Alam, who thereafter resided at Allahabad until the end of 1771. The Emperor ceded to the Company the Dewani (that is, the revenue administration) of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, subject to the annual payment of 26 lakhs of rupees. The Nawab, or Subadar, of Bengal was relieved of all responsibility for the military defence of the country and of the management of the revenue.

For a detailed account of the Bengal Army as it was in 1764, the interested reader must refer to Captain John Williams's 'Historical Account of the Bengal Native Infantry,' published by John Murray in 1817, and to Captain Broome's 'History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army,' published by Smith Elder in 1850. Reference should also be made to Colonel P. R. Innes's 'History of the Bengal European Regiment, now the Royal Munster Fusiliers.' Seven years after the battle of Plassey the Bengal Army consisted of about 1500 Europeans and 10,000 native sepoys. Of these His Majesty's 84th Regt., with a strength of nearly 400, was stationed in New Fort William ("New" since Plassey), 12 companies of Europeans in the Company's service were distributed between Patna, Jellasore, and the Presidency; 2 companies

of Artillery were distributed between the Presidency, Midnapore, Chittagong, and Patna; and 5 companies (troops ?) of European Cavalry were also quartered at the Presidency. The European troops, whether in the King's or the Company's service, were spoken of from 1765 onwards as "the Regiments," and the Sepoy troops were numbered as "Battalions." The Sepoy Battalions (nineteen in number, as enumerated by Captain Williams) were stationed at the Presidency (that is, at Calcutta and neighbouring cantonments), Patna, Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, Dacca, Luckeepore, Cossimbazar, and Malda. Among the Sepoy Battalions may be specially mentioned the 1st Battalion, afterwards the 9th, originally raised by Clive in 1757, and known at first as the "Lal Paltan" or "Red Battalion," and afterwards as "Galliz ka Paltan" from Captain Primrose Galliez, who long commanded it. Another Battalion, also raised in 1757, was known until it was disbanded in 1784 by the name of its first Commander, Captain Matthews. Of these two Battalions Captain Williams says: "Wherever service offered, the 'Lal Paltan' and 'the Matthews' in those days were sure to be called on."

Lord Clive reorganised the Bengal Army in 1765, dividing it into three separate Brigades, with headquarters at Monghyr, Allahabad, and Bankipore. The Brigade posted at Allahabad, beyond the Company's North-west Frontier, was kept there to support the Nawab Wazir against the Marathas and the Northern Powers, but was later withdrawn to the Presidency and Berhampore. The strong fort of Chunar was continuously held by a garrison after its capture in 1765. Clive broke up the "Bengal European Battalion or Regiment," at the time upwards of 1600 strong, into three "Regiments." Two Companies of the Bombay European Regiment, who had fought under Capt. Pemble at Buxar, were

incorporated with them; and it was intended that, with recruits, each Regiment should have 731 rank and file. The commands of the three Regiments and the three Brigades were given by Clive to Brig.-Gen. Carnac, to Lt.-Col. Knox (and after his death to Lt.-Col. R. Smith), and to Lt.-Col. Sir Robert Barker. Each Brigade consisted of a Regiment of European Infantry, 7 Battalions of Sepoys, one Company of Artillery, and one Rasala of Cavalry (Innes).

The Bengal Army was not engaged in military operations of any importance in Upper India from 1765 until 1772, though the Company was at war for part of this time in Southern India with Hyder Ali of Mysore and with the Subadar of the Deccan (later the Nizam), and a detachment was sent in 1767 from Bengal under Col. Peach to the Northern Circars to threaten Hyderabad, the Subadar's capital.

The two years 1765 to 1767 were spent by Allan Macpherson for the most part in Monghyr, where he was Adjutant of the 1st Regt., 1st Brigade, as appears from his copy-book of military letters. He was also, occasionally, at Juanpore, Bankipore, and Calcutta. Writing to Captain Ironside, Fort Major at Calcutta, from Monghyr, on 29th October 1765, he enumerates the companies of the 1st Regt. as follows: General Carnac's Company, Lt.-Col. Fletcher's Company, Major Champion's Company, Captain Fielding's Company, Captain Kinloch's Company, Captain Upton's Company, Captain Ahmuty's Company, and Captain Searling's Company. Captain Gilbert Ironside, Fort Major, writing from Fort William on 16th Decbr. 1765 to Allan Macpherson, Adjutant of the 1st Regt., says: "In your correspondence with me I have always found you extremely punctual and attentive to the Business carrying on. Had it been otherwise it would have been requisite for me to intimate it to you. . . . There is but one

copy of the Articles of War in the whole Garrison, and that I cannot well spare."

An autograph letter addressed by Major Giles Stibbert from Calcutta on 30th Novr. 1765 to Adjutant Macpherson of the 1st Brigade, tells him that he has tried without success to get for him an allowance for the time during which he acted as Brigade Major. Another letter from the Fort Adjutant, John Kennedy, dated 1st Novr. 1765, informs him that "the batta [field allowance] is struck off, to commence from 1st of January next." This last item of information refers to the decision of the Directors to abolish the double batta, which had been for some years received by officers when they took the field.[1] At this time a Lieutenant's monthly pay was Rs. 62. He was allowed half batta in cantonment, viz., Rs. 62 in addition; field batta of Rs. 124 when in the field east of the Karamnassa River, and the same in cantonment beyond that river; and double batta, or Rs. 248, when in in the field beyond (west of) the Karamnassa.[2] The orders for reduction of batta caused great discontent in the army. Marshman writes: "The announcement" (by Clive) "of the order was the signal for a mutiny of officers, and a combination was formed to compel Clive to retract it. A Committee of Secrecy was organised in each of the three Brigades, and . . . it was agreed that 200 officers should throw up their commissions on the same day." Among the officers who resigned their commissions on 1st May 1766 were 42 officers of the 1st Brigade stationed at Monghyr, headed and instigated by Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded the Brigade. Both Allan Macpherson, who was at the time A.D.C. to Sir Robert Fletcher, and his brother John were among the signatories of a

1 'Marshman,' Vol. i. p. 312.
2 'Broome,' p. 576.

general letter of resignation, which was worded as follows[1]:—

"That we might put it out of the power of either the world or our own consciences to reproach us for desiring leave to resign our commissions in the Company's service, we have served four months, in obedience to the orders of 31st December 1765, and we are now but too well convinced that our former suspicions were true, for notwithstanding the supposed reduction of servants' wages and dismissing every unnecessary attendant, we find that we cannot live upon the present allowances, but must every month run in debt as long as we have any credit. We must appear upon the parade as becomes officers and keep up our respective ranks, or disobey public orders; we must eat and drink, as befits the climate, or fall sacrifices to hunger and sickness; and to do all these only in moderation we must run in debt to any person who will give us any credit, be they men of honour or the lowest in the creation; and so fall under the lash of another article of war for behaving unlike gentlemen.

"You know we have applied for redress in the humblest manner, and it has been refused us. It is needless for us here to call upon you to witness for our attachment to our masters. Our behaviour through a series of severe campaigns must bear down all slander. Some of us have ate the Company's bread for some years, and are deeply concerned; we can no more do it with honour. All of us are sorry to be obliged to take this method of preventing ruin and misery from falling upon ourselves and connections, and sincerely wish that our masters may ever meet with a set of officers as much attached and devoted to their service as we have always wished to approve ourselves, and who may maintain the affairs of the Company to the latest posterity, in that splendour to which we have happily raised them. But unless the pay and batta of their troops is again restored to what it was in July and August 1763, our prayers are all that we can now give them.

"As it is from principle we now resign the Service, it would give us the greatest uneasiness should the affairs of our honourable masters suffer by so sudden a resignation. We have

[1] 'Broome,' pp. 576-8.

therefore resolved to serve them without pay of any kind or being esteemed officers in their service until the fifteenth of the present month of May, when an answer may be had from those gentlemen of the Council who, we know, have the powers of granting us redress or supplying our places with other officers, provided you desire it.

"Our Commissions accompany this, and we request you will keep them until the answer arrives; and that you will at the same time direct the pay-masters to issue the pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men upon unsigned abstracts, to prevent any suspicion or disturbance arising, which would give us the greatest uneasiness; for we seek to live by our service, never to hurt our masters.

"We are with due respect,

"Monghyr, 1st *May* 1766.

"*P.S.*—The guards shall be relieved this morning, and everything as usual to prevent suspicion."

On receiving information of this emergency Lord Clive acted vigorously. He summoned officers from Madras to take the place of the malcontent Bengal officers, and went himself to deal with the malcontents. At Berhampore Cantonment he stopped the movement before it had gathered strength, and on 15th May arrived at Monghyr, where the disaffection was strongest. Meanwhile Sir Robert Fletcher, playing a double part, had wavered on arrival of a Sepoy Battalion led by Capt. F. Smith, who took up a strong position in the Fort, and threatened the European officers and their supporters. Under Sir Robert Fletcher's orders the officers who had tendered their resignation left the Fort, and Lord Clive on his arrival sent them to Calcutta under arrest (Malleson's 'Lord Clive,' Rulers of India Series, p. 188). Sir Robert Fletcher was himself sent later by Clive under arrest to Banki-

pore, where he was tried by court-martial and cashiered.[1]

Among his witnesses he called Lt. Allan Macpherson, whose deposition is recorded on p. lxxii. of Broome's 'History of the Army' as follows :—

"Allan M'Pherson, Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment, being duly sworn and questioned by Sir Robert Fletcher, deposed—

"That the officers seemed determined to have the batta restored or quit the Service; that he thinks if the public officers of Sir Robert Fletcher's family [staff] had not entered into the association, he should not have engaged in it; that Sir Robert Fletcher sent to this deponent between the 20th and 25th of April and advised him to have no concern in the association; and that Sir Robert sent for him again in May, and advised him by no means to suffer this deponent's brother to leave the Brigade, and at the same time offered him money to pay the £500 penalty which he would be liable to by retracting."

At Bankipore and Allahabad the Commanding officers, Sir Robert Barker and Lt.-Col. Smith, had firmly dealt with the situation; and on arrival at Bankipore, Clive had only to pardon the penitent officers and to arrange for bringing the ringleaders to justice (Malleson).

[1] An undated letter from Sir Robert Fletcher to Allan Macpherson runs as follows (probably written after the court-martial):—

"Dear Macpherson,—I beg you will receive the accompanying sword which I used to wear myself as a small token of my esteem.—I am, yours sincerely, ROBERT FLETCHER."

This was by no means the end of Sir Robert Fletcher, who was restored to the Company's Army by the Court of Directors, and sent as a Member of Council to Madras, where a few years later he took part in putting the Governor under arrest, for which exploit he was again cashiered.

An example having been made, the younger officers were treated with lenity, and their commissions restored to them. On 22nd Septr. 1766, says Innes, a general order of amnesty was issued, and officers were required to sign a covenant not to quit the service without giving 12 months' notice.

In 1767 Allan Macpherson and his brother John served in the force commanded by Col. Peach, which was sent by sea from Bengal to assist the Madras Government in the war with Nizam Ali, Subadar of the Deccan. The force landed in the Northern Circars, and marched to Warangol, 86 miles from Hyderabad. Alarmed by the threat to his capital, Nizam Ali promptly made peace in February 1768.[1] Allan Macpherson has left nothing on record in regard to these years of his service, except an allusion to his "service on the coast." In a letter addressed to Warren Hastings, dated 29th December 1781, he writes: "When I was the oldest lieutenant and on active service on the coast in the year 1768, thirteen captains came from England and took rank immediately between Lt.-Col. Kyd and me." He returned to Bengal in 1769.

Allan Macpherson's private accounts running from October 1764 with Mr Thomas Ridley, and from 1767 with Messrs Miller & Frazer, show that in May 1766 he was drawing pay of Rs. 62 sicca at Rs. 2 a day and batta of the same amount—total, Rs. 124 a month. His brother, Ensign John, drew for the same month Rs. 50 at Rs. 1.10 a day and batta Rs. 46.8 at Rs. 1.8 a day. The two brothers received from the Company's godowns in 1765 half a puncheon of rum and two-thirds of a pipe of Madeira at Rs. 146 and Rs. 191.7. In November 1767 Captain Allan Macpherson's agents bought for him 4 dozen of

[1] 'Marshman,' Vol. i. p. 329.

Madeira at Rs. 16 a dozen and books, &c., as follows: 'Adventures of Miss Van Brook,' 'Wanderer,' 'Vanity and Virtue,' 'Fool of Quality,' 'Sharp's Letters,' 'Pompey the Little,' 'Creasy's Tales,' 'Tatler' (4 vols.), 'Gil Blas,' 'Calender's Voyages,' Four cattys of tea, A dozen of silver spoons.

Also a draft of this Journal from 29th April 1770 to 9th April 1771, written by Allan Macpherson, sometimes in his own name and sometimes in Colonel Champion's name. The draft is occasionally corrected by Colonel Champion.

JOURNAL FOR COLONEL CHAMPION OF JOURNEY BY BOAT FROM CALCUTTA TO BANKIPOOR, JANUARY TO FEBRUARY 1770.

1770. *Monday, January 15th.* Set out this forenoon at 11 oclock for Barnagore, where our Budgerows[1] lay—with me Capt. Macpherson, Lt. Lane, and Ensign Rayne. Col. Chapman, Messrs Lawrell, Cobham, and Martin accompanyed me as far as Chunserow [Chinsura], where we arrived this evening at 7 oclock. Supped at Mr Smith's.

16*th.* At 3 A.M. left Chunserow. Col. Chapman and Mr Cobham returned; and Mr Lawrell and Mr Martin set out for Burdwan. I passed the Nabob's[2] Budgerow about 8 A.M. Slept this evening at Goodpoora, a Village 3 coss[3] below Culna.

17*th.* Set out at daylight and arrived at Mirzapoor Nulla at 12 ocl., where we found a Camp colour man, two Tents, and three Hackarys[4] sent by Col. Ironside from Barrampoor, and 100 coolies sent from Cossimbazar by Mr Pennyng to carry our Baggage overland to Baugmungolla, where our Budgerows and Boats lay, but this number not being sufficient I was under the necessity of leaving one of the Tents and part of my Baggage at this place with a Harcarrah,[5] whom I ordered to wait

[1] House-boats.

[2] Apparently the Nawab of Murshidabad.

[3] A Kos is about two miles. Captain Macpherson spells the word "causs" or "coss."

[4] Bullock carts.

[5] A scout or runner.

Colonel ALEXANDER CHAMPION.

Died 15th March 1793.

(From the Medallion in Bath Abbey Church.)

upon the Nabob on his arrival to request he would send some Hackaries or Coolies to carry the remaining part of my Baggage, &c. At 4 this afternoon set off in our Pallanquins for Junipoor, where we arrived at 6.

18th. Left Junipoor at 5 A.M., arrived at Agirdeep at 9.30. This afternoon that part of my Baggage which was left at Mirzapoor arrived in Hackaries sent by the Nabob.

19th. Set out at 5 A.M. and Breakfasted at Plassay with Capt. Stewart and John Macpherson, who came there[1] to meet us, and afterwards we went to Daudpoor, where we arrived at 10.30. Mr B. Martin joined us this afternoon from Burdwan.

20th. Set out at 5 A.M., myself and Mr Martin, in Capt. Stewart's Buggy, and the rest of the Gentlemen on horseback. Arrived at Berrampoor at 8.30, and Breakfasted with Lt. Col. Ironside, and afterwards visited Mr Aldersay at the factory. Came back and dined with Col. Ironside, and in the afternoon went to Mr Beecher's at Mootagill [Motijhil].

Sunday, 21st. Sent off our heavy Baggage to Baugmungolla. Stayed all this day at Mr Beecher's.

22nd. We set out from Mootagill at 5 A.M., and reached our Budgerows at 11. Rowed and tracked up the river about 2 coss.

23rd. Put off at 5 A.M., and set sail—a fine easterly wind. In the evening the wind shifted to the N.W., and we came to at Surty. At 5 P.M. a strong Gale of Wind obliged our Baggage boats to stop at some distance below us.

24th. Arrived at Ninlalpur Gat at 6.30 P.M., 3 coss below Furruckabad.

25th. Set forward early in the morning. At 3 P.M. Capt. Brereton, who was going to Calcutta, came on board my Budgerow, and went back to Wooden

[1] Probably from Berhampore Cantonment.

Nulla, where I came to, and went away after Supper.

26*th*. Put off at daylight. Past Rajamaul at 12 oclock. Mr Harwood invited me and my family to go ashore. However, I sent him an excuse, and some letters to be forwarded to Calcutta. Came to this night about 4 coss above Rajamaul, where we found Lt. M'Nab and his wife, his Life despaired of owing to bleeding at the mouth. I sent him a bottle of Turlington's Balsam, which stopped the bleeding and did greatly relieve him.

27*th*. Put off at daylight. At Gungaparsad, a Village between the passes, I saw the wreckage of a boat belonging to Mr Henry Grant; the Goods were saved, and lay on the shore. I made Capt. Macpherson write to Mr Grant concerning it. Came to at Tulliagurry Pass at 6 P.M.

28*th*. Put off at 5 A.M. with a fair wind, which continued till we arrived at Pator Gotta, about 2 coss below Colgong.

29*th*. Set off with a fair wind, which continued till 12 oclock, when a strong N.E. gale came on, which drove several of the Boats and Budgerows to the Lee Shore, and I was forced to follow. I put to this night at a Village called Hassimpur, where the rest of the boats soon arrived except Mr M'Nab's, which kept up the Windward side.

30*th*. Rowed across the river to the Eastern shore, which was covered with Jungle. Stayed all night about 4 coss below Shipgunge.

31*st*. Put off at 5 A.M. The Wind blew so strong before 9 oclock that we were forced to let go our Anchor, and with great difficulty kept my Budgerow from going to pieces on the sand. About 3 P.M., the wind abating, I borrowed a small anchor from Lt. Lane's budgerow, and with two warps got up to the shore in deep water. In the last I was very near losing the anchor, as the rope broke, but soon

found it by tying 2 bags of shot to the goon [tow rope] at the distance of 20 fathoms from 2 small boats. Came to at Shipgunge.

Febry. 1*st.* Set out at 5 A.M., and kept tracking till 1 oclock, when a strong wind obliged us to stop for 2 or 3 hours. Got up within 3 coss of Jungiery, where we came to.

2*nd.* Set forward at 5 A.M., and passed Jungiery at 8. Here we met a small boat sent by Major Hannay with provisions from Monghyr. Stayed all night at Ghargery Gott, 3½ coss from Monghyr overland and six by water.

3*rd.* I went in my Pallanquin overland to Monghyr, also Capt. Macpherson and Lt. Lane, where we arrived at 8.30. Stayed all day with Major Hannay. Our Budgerows arrived in the evening.

4*th.* I ordered the Budgerows and Boats up to Singia Nulla, which is 4 coss from Monghyr, and went with Major Hannay on a hunting party. Dined and supped on board my Budgerow Major Hannay, Capt. Edmonston, and Capt. Wroe.

5*th.* Put off early in the morning, and kept tracking up along the left Shore till within a coss of Ram Nulla.

6*th.* Set forward at 5 A.M. At 7 the Manjie[1] not knowing the proper Channel—there being three—went up the middle one about a mile, but we were forced to return, and kept up the left shore. We had some difficulty to get my large Budgerow into the great river, which is the right-hand Channel. Stopped the night 3 coss below Diriapoor.

7*th.* Set out early and passed Diriapoor at 8 oclock. At 4 my budgerow got aground, and notwithstanding all our efforts to get her off by collecting the Dandies[2] of the different boats and about 30 villagers, all our endeavours proved fruitless.

[1] Head boatman.

[2] Boatmen.

Therefore sent all the other Budgerows and boats over the sand to Mower, a Village a mile above my Budgerow.

8th. Took out all the heavy Baggage, and got my Budgerow over with ease. At 1 P.M. went in our Pallanquins to Bar [Barh], about 3 coss off. Here I found a Duffadar [1] and 6 moguls [2] from Bankipoor, also three saddle horses and a pallanquin. I sent for the Fouzdar,[3] and desired him to get some dandies to hurry up my Budgerow, &c. His answer was that the place was so depopulated by the famine that he was sure that the town, tho' large, could not afford me above one or two at most—which I believed from the number of Human corpses lying unburied in all the parts of the town.

9th. Rain in the morning hindered us from setting out till 7 oclock. During this day's journey we saw many Human Carcases both sides of the road till our arrival at Bycanpur, where I found Ensign Davis, sent by Lt. Col. Leslie with Tents for myself and the Gentlemen of my family.

10th. Set out for Bankipoor, where we arrived at 10 A.M. at Lt. Col. Leslie's Quarters. This day's journey was very disagreeable from the great number of carcases lying both sides of the road and by the river side.

At Bankipoor and Dinapore—February to August 1770.

Febry. 11th. All the boats arrived at Patna, from thence the Baggage was carried on Hackaries to Myr Absul's Gardens, where I took up my Quarters.

[1] A petty officer, equivalent to a corporal.
[2] Muhammadans.
[3] The Faujdar, originally a commander of troops, became later a police magistrate.

12th. I reviewed the Second Battalion of the 3rd Regt., but was not much pleased with their performance.

15th. Reviewed the 1st Battn. of the 3rd Regt.

16th. I returned the Dutch Chief's Visit.

17th. Report prevails that Cossim Ally [1] was assembling the confederate forces of the Sycks (Sikhs], Jauts, and Maratos at Agra, with intention to invade the Provinces.

[As stated on p. 15, the Emperor, Shah Alam, had resided at Allahabad since 1765 in enjoyment of the revenue of the provinces of Kora and Allahabad which Clive assigned to him. Najib-ud-Daula, Rohilla, continued to carry on the government at Delhi in the name of Prince Jewan Bakht, son of the Emperor. The power and insolence of the Marathas were increasing; they made no attacks on the Wazir of Oudh and the English, but on several occasions made imperious demands for payment of Chauth, or tribute, from our provinces of Bengal and Bihar (Strachey, p. 40).

Towards the end of 1769 they crossed the Chambul River, levied tribute from the Rajput princes, and defeated the Jats at Bhurtpoor (Duff, Vol. ii. p. 224).]

I had a visit from the French Chief this evening.

18th. I wrote to Mr Motte at Benaris for intelligence.

20th. I wrote to Capt. Brooke at Corah for ditto.

21st. Reviewed the Camp Equipage of the 2nd Battn., which I found in very bad order. A complaint was made by Mr Alexander, Chief of Patna, against the Contractor's Cattle for having destroyed 30 Becaums [? Bighas of land].

22nd. Reviewed the Camp Equipage of the Artillery and 1st Battn. at Dinapoor, also the Seapoy Camp Equipage at Bankipoor, and found the whole in pretty good Condition. Captain John Jones

[1] Kasim Ali, ex-Nawab of Bengal.

returned from Command with 5 Compys. of seapoys from the Durbungah country.

23*rd*. Sent Sir Robert Barker [1] extracts of a letter from B. Wendell at Agra.

25*th*. Upon Enquiry I find Mr Alexander's complaint not founded on any just representation; I had ordered sentries to be put over the Ground, and on the 24th detected two large herds of cattle under the care of eight Black fellows feeding them between 12 at night and 4 in the morning. Sent them to Mr Alexander.

27*th*. Received an indent from Mr Alexander for 624 stands of arms, which I refused to comply with.

28*th*. Wrote to General Barker recommending Lt. Gough to be Adjutant of seapoys and Sergt. Maj. Williams as Adjutant to the 2nd Bn.

March 2nd. Received orders to put the Brigade in as forward a state for the field as I could without encamping it.

4*th*. Wrote the Dutch Chief representing the detriment he did to our people in suffering arrack to be sold to them.

5*th*. Mr Alexander stop'd 33 boats of Grain which had our Purwanna.[2]

6*th*. I represented to Mr Alexander the necessity of the Services, and required the Boats of grain to be returned, which he consented to after many endeavours to detain part, which I would by no means agree to.

10*th*. Received a copy of a letter sent Mr Cartier by Mr Alexander concerning Doda Choudry [3] and the villainies he has been committing. The Encampment is formed near Dinapoor.

[1] The Commander-in-Chief in Bengal from 1770 to 1773. He served, says the 'East India Military Calendar,' in all the early wars in the Carnatic and Bengal from 1754.

[2] Letter of authority.

[3] Apparently a grain contractor.

20*th*. The Encampment is ordered to be struck, and all Hackaries, Bullocks, &c., to be discharged, being no longer under any apprehension of Invasion from above—the confederate armies under Cossim Ally having quarrelled amongst themselves, left him and marched to their homes.

22*nd*. A field day. On my coming to Bankipoor I found the 2nd Batn. on the Regimental parade waiting for Lt. Col. Leslie. The day being far advanced, I ordered the Batn. to march to the Grand Parade. Col. Leslie soon after came, and told me that I had hurt him much in ordering the Batn. to march off, and that I had no right to do so. My answer was that I had a right, and that I expected in future to see the Battn. on the Exercising ground at daylight. I ordered a slave wench of Captain Hessmans, who was found guilty of theft, to have her hair cut off, and her confederate, for receiving the stolen Goods, to receive fifty Chabucks,[1] both to be put in irons for one month. Sent for the use of the City 5 boats of grain near 5000 mds.[2]

24*th*. I had a visit from the Rajah Shitabroy.[3]

27*th*. I received a letter from Sir R. Barker, in which he desires I will examine Doda Choudry very minutely, and send him a copy thereof.

28*th*. Examined the Doda Choudry upon oath in presence of Mr Deveil, and was much surprised at a great part of his deposition.

30*th*. Received from Captain John Jones a Narrative of the Distressed situation he with his detachment was in for grain in the Durbangha country, a copy of which, as also the Choudry's deposition, I sent to General Barker.

31*st*. We are informed from Calcutta that the Stag Frigate is arrived at Anjangha with Captain

[1] Strokes of a cane or whip.
[2] A maund is about 80 lb.
[3] Rai Rayan of Bihar, Naib Dewan, and Naib Nazim.

Lindsay on board, going with some Credentials up the Gulf of Persia. The same Letters say that 6 King's Ships are to be sent to the East Indies.

April 1st. The Choudry having represented that Mirza Mahomet Ally (then in the City) owed him near 12,000 Rs., and that he wished I would help him, I told him he should apply to the Rajah. He said he had done so, but that he would not hear him, and was very desirous I would send for him, and if he acknowledged the debt, apply to Mr Alexander for him, which I refused, till he assured me that he was a free man, that the Rajah had settled all accounts with him. I then desired Captain Macpherson to direct a harcarah to go and say only that I wanted to see him. I took a copy of his complaint to acquaint Mr Alexander, but I deferred doing it before I saw Mirza Mahomet Ally, as it might be a false demand. As I stayed at Bankipoor all night I was not acquainted the afore-mentioned person was at Meer Absal's Gardens till 3 oclock next morning by Captain Macpherson, when I desired a harcarah and chobdar [1] to be sent and order him to return to the City. He was put under a strong Guard in Patna the same day—by order of the Rajah, I suppose. *N.B.*—The afore-mentioned person came voluntary.

5th. I went to Dinapoor to see the Field day of Captain Jones's Btn., and, coming home after Breakface, was so much affected by the heat that I was taken ill.

6th. The Troops mustered at Bankipoor.

7th. Mr Alexander came to Meer Absul's Gardens and informed me of many malicious reports spread by the Rajah to the prejudice of Douda Choudry, which I cannot credit. The Troops mustered at Dinapoor.

[1] A mace-bearer.

12*th*. Lt. Cols. Winwood and Morgan arrived—the latter lost all his boats in the late Gale.

14*th*. I find myself greatly out of order. A letter from Captain Harper, dated at Fyzabad the 8th inst., informing me of the motions of the enemy, also the small prospect he has of being able to supply our gunge [1] with grain. Another letter from Captain Brooke, dated Allahabad, 11th inst., to the same purpose.

15*th*. I am informed that upwards of 100 boats, which were coming down the Country with grain for the City and Gunge, were lost on the night of the 6th inst. I am apprehensive that the scarcity of provisions will soon increase from the little prospect there is of sufficient supply. I am much indisposed.

16*th*. Intelligence from Col. Galliez and from Captain Harper that the Maratas have given a severe repulse to the Jauts. [This was their victory at Bhurtpore.] I am still very ill.

20*th*. My illness continues. I find myself weak and low spirited. I am resolved upon going home if my bad health continues.

22*nd*. Received advice of 16 boats of Grain having passed Monghyr with Col. Leslie's purwanna. My pain falls down from my back to my left Toe.

24*th*. The Choudry complained to me that the merchants of the above boats brought their dustucks [2] to him, desiring to return them as they had no further use for them.

25*th*. I had the merchants before me. On being asked by whose orders they brought the dustucks out of the boats, they answered by the Choudry's, although he had complained the day before that Meer Marsham, a servant of the Rajah [Raja Shitab

[1] A market-place.

[2] Passes. "Dastkhatt," a letter written with one's own hand, a signature.

Ray, who held the office of Naib Nazim for the Province of Bihar], wanted the merchants to return the dustucks they had of Col. Leslie's and take some of the Rajah.

This evening I am informed that two merchants belonging to the Military Gunge, a seapoy and a harcarah, were killed by the Inhabitants of Batzy, a Village in the Circar Sarang country [the present districts of Sarun and Champarun]. The above merchants went over with my purwanna to purchase grain. Nowel-Sing, Zemindar of the above Village, told them that they had been frequently to buy grain, but never paid him any custom, at the same time demanding 50 rupees, and on being refused forced the money from them and tore my purwanna to pieces. The merchants returned to Dinapoor, and got a letter from the Choudry's Daroga [1] to a Gomasta [2] of the Choudry's then at Muckramgunge, directing him to give the merchants one Seapoy to try if they could not prevail upon the Zemindar to return their money. They accordingly went to him, but on demanding their money a dispute arose in which the two merchants, a harcara and a seapoy, were killed, and one villager on the side of the Zemindar by the inhabitants in his own defence [*sic*]. Five hundred bullocks with grain without Dustucks were coming towards the Gunges, but were stopped above a coss off by a servant of the Rajah's in order to give them Dustucks for the City.

26*th*. I find myself so weak and lame with the Gout that I am unable to quit my room. I therefore wrote to Mr Alexander to request that he would call upon me that matters might be settled which would not be so thoroughly done by Letter. He accordingly came, and I represented many circumstances to him, but without receiving the least

[1] A chief officer—*e.g.*, of police, peons, and the like.
[2] An agent.

redress, but on the whole he seemed pleased with the accidents in the Circar Sarang country, and hoped this opportunity would convince the Gentlemen below that no commanding officer should have power to grant Dustucks for Grain, and that they *should be only granted by the Rajah and Chief* [the Chief of the Patna Council—Mr Alexander himself], and latterly observed he thought the best method would be to remove the Brigade to the other side of the Carrimnassa in order to be better supplyed with provisions, as well as opening Greater Resources for the City.

29*th*. Five Merchants belonging to the Military Gunge taken up by the Chief and Rajah on suspicion of their having killed the Jamadar[1] of a Village in Arrah Pergunnah.

May 2nd. I had the weights from Bankipore Bazar and Dinapoor Gunge brought to my house and also weights from the City gunges, and on comparing them find that the B. and D. weights are heavier by a seir[2] in ten than the City weights.

3*rd*. Mr Alexander applyed to me for some grain for the City. I have sent him ten boats of the sixteen which came up with Col. Leslie's purwanna.

7*th*. Intelligence from Col. Galliez that the Marattas have passed the Jumna. Col. Winwood set out for Monghyr.

8*th*. Mr Alexander is of opinion that it is not necessary to move the Brigade.

9*th*. I ordered the encampment to be formed on the plain near Dinapoor, also the Ordnance of the Brigade formed into a park and make every necessary preparation for the field.

12*th*. The Choudry informs me that the Rajah sent a Dustuck to carry away two boats which had stayed at the Gunge Ghautt 2 days before, and

[1] A petty-officer—see footnote on page 53 also.

[2] Seer—*vide* footnote on page 42.

that they are the property of the merchants who had engaged to carry all his grain to the Gunge. I therefore ordered the Chowdry to stop them, and wrote to Mr Alexander explaining the matter to him, but he quite misunderstood my Letter, and returned a very Extraordinary answer. I wrote him a second, and sent duplicates of all my Letters to the General.

13*th*. The pain is got up to my back and left side, by which I find much difficulty in sitting, lying, or walking. In the evening I was quite overcome with it and fainted.

14*th*. I received orders from the Select Committee to send the Mogull Troop and 2 Battns. of Seapoys to encamp at Buxar. My pain is fallen to my Hips, by which I am easier.

16*th*. I sent Capt. Macpherson to request of Mr Alexander to call on me in the evening, not being able to go abroad. He accordingly came. I informed him that I had a letter from the General recommending that we should draw a line for the supply of grain between the City and Military Gunge. But the only method he proposed was that the Commng. Officer should from time to time indent to him, to which I could not agree, nor would he propose any other, nor agree to any of my proposals, so we parted without doing anything but to go on in the old way until the Committee should draw this line.

17*th*. I was so much indisposed that I requested of Col. Leslie to write to the General the particulars of last night's consultation, which he did.

20*th*. Having no news of the Marattas, I have ordered the encampment to be struck.

21*st*. Mr Alexander sent for my perusal two letters from Col. Harper and Col. Galliez, dated 14th and 17th inst., by which we are informed that the Marattas are likely to ravage the King's

province [*i.e.*, the Emperor's province] of Korah, &c. I then wrote Mr Alexander that I thought the Brigade should march immediately, but he is of a different opinion. I then requested he would order draft and carriage cattle sufficient to complete us for moving, should it be necessary.

25*th*. An eclipse of the sun seen this morning. The day dark, and rained a little.

28*th*. Some smittering of rain in the forenoon. I find myself recovering daily. 29*th*. Rained a good deal.

29*th*. Mrs Van Hangwich was buried at Patna this day. 31*st*. Several showers in the morning.

June 2*nd*. Dody Choudry reports that the five merchants confined in the Cutcherie received 5 lashes each, and are to receive as many more every day until they give machúlka [1] for their future good behaviour.

4*th*. The King's Birthday. The usual firings were performed at the different cantonments.

5*th*. I received orders from the Committee to desist from issuing purwannas for Grain for the Brigade, and to make monthly application to Mr Alexander, who had orders to supply what I should want.

8*th*. Mr Alexander came to my house and agreed that grain should be collected under my purwannas till 1st July, by which Time I was to call in all dustucks, or purwannas, harcaras, &c.

9*th*. I was informed by Dada Choudry that the Raja had sent orders to seize all Harcaras belonging to him who should be found collecting grain. I wrote to Mr Alexander about this information. He assures me no such orders were sent.

12*th*. Ensign Davis, Quarter Master, died. 16*th*. A heavy shower of rain.

[1] Recognisances.

18*th*. The Raja had the assurance to send sepoys for two boats of Grain which the owners brought to Dinapore Gunge without a dustuck. I ordered them to be delivered to him rather than have any further trouble. Very heavy rain.

19*th*. I received a letter from General Barker advising me to be prepared, as I was likely to be called down to Calcutta concerning the monopoly of grain.

22*nd*. At my request Mr Alexander paid me a visit. He asked me what method I intended to pursue in serving the Troops with Grain. I replied, to form a bazar and send the merchants daily for their Supplies to the City, or wherever he chose to have it delivered them. Mr A. then observed that our Estimate was exceedingly large, and that he thought the seapoys might do with other Grain as well as rice. I answered they might do with less rice if other Grain was given in lieu of it. He then said he thought none but the Company's people should have any Grain out of our Bazaar, and proposed sending Company's Merchants there himself. To this I objected. He then complained of Dada C.'s Villainy, and of his having lately stopped boats without my dustucks. I said it was impossible, as he had been down the Country for this week. He said it was his people then, who acted by his authority. Mr A. further observed that when he was at Chapperah he saw a boat full of seapoys pressing Grain boats. I assured him we had not one seapoy out from the Brigade upon such service. Mr A. said they must have been Purgunnah seapoys.[1] He had the Select Committee's instructions to inflict such punishments as he thought proper upon persons behaving contrary to the orders of the Chief, and that the Dada Chy. was as likely to be the first as any he knew. I answered that I

[1] Sepoys employed under revenue authorities in divisions of districts.

hoped he would have proper cause before he took such a step. He said Yes, he could always detect him in villainies.

27th. Mr Alexander came with intention to settle the matter of delivering our Grain, and in some measure agreed that the supplies should be delivered to the Choudry every 2, 3, or 4 days at Dinapore Gunge, but that in case of accidents such as fire, &c., he was not to run the risk. He desired the Choudry should be sent to him to settle the Definitive part of it.

28th. Much rain. I sent the Choudry to Mr Alexander, and recommended to him to sign no written agreements without my seeing them first. It happened as I expected, for there was one ready and presented to him the moment he appeared before Mr A., and his refusing to sign it without my concurrence broke off the conference.

July 1st. Agreed that Mr Alexander shall deliver the Grain at Dinapore Gunge, a quantity sufficient to serve the Troops two days at a time, or more if the Choudry choses—he paying for it at the delivery.

4th. A letter from General Barker. The General must have misunderstood what I wrote him on the subject of grain, as I could not myself be acquainted with Circumstances sufficient to write about monopolies. On this I called the Dada Chy. and examined him upon oath in the presence of two Gentlemen, and sent the minutes to the General, and informed him at the same time that the Dada Chy. was my only author.

10th. A letter from the General recommending I would be provided with sufficient proofs to support the Choudry's assertions relative to the monopoly of Grain, as the Board had so bad an opinion of the Choudry that his words would be of little weight without proper evidence to support him.

17*th*. The Dada Chdy., with several evidences, were sworn and examined regarding the attempts made by the Rajah to make him quit the Military Gunge; and it fully appears that he was at different times offered Rs. 500 a month on condition that he would not continue with the Army but go home. The Choudry and three Benares Merchants were also examined upon oath concerning the methods used to buy Grain, when it appeared that the Rajah bought immense quantities of Grain up the Country from 18 to 24 seer [1] per rupee, and sold it at Patna from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 seer the rupee. I must observe on the first part of the evidences that Mr Alexander and Mr Gouldin were present when the Rajah offered the Choudry 500 Rs. per month to quit the Military. Notwithstanding all this, Mr Alexander was writing against him to the Select Committee.

21*st*. Removed part of my baggage to Bankipore. 22*nd*. Slept at Bankipore this night, and found it hotter than I felt since the hot season came in.

23*rd*. This evening arrived an account of a mutiny at Barrampore. The 2nd Battn. of the 2nd Regt. got under arms twice—the reason given was the scarcity of provisions, at this time only 3 seer coarse rice for a rupee. The mutiny was quelled without any harm done. The Artillery or Seapoys were not concerned.

28*th*. Letters from Calcutta that General [Sir Eyre] Coote is at Madras in the Europa, and that it was thought he would come to Bengal in January or sooner.

31*st*. This evening we are informed that Col. Peach died at Monghyr the 29th inst. This, I suppose, will soon occasion my being ordered down to take the command of the 1st Brigade.

[1] A varying weight or measure, now about $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. standard.

August 3rd. Mr Alexander set out for Monghyr to visit Mrs Peach.

[Captain Macpherson writes: "I think he will marry her if she will."]

4th. I reviewed the Contractor's cattle and find the elephants and camels in very bad condition. On enquiry, it appeared that Mr Graham ordered 2 seer of grain to be struck off every elephant, and in proportion from the camels. The draft cattle formerly had a seer a day, and he ordered one-half to be taken off. I ordered the allowance to be put on immediately, and told Mr Berry, Deputy Contractor, that I would write to the Board if ever he should take off any part of the former allowance. This evening I paid a visit to the new married lady, Mrs Goulden.

7th. I wrote to the General in consequence of Mr Graham's having found fault with my ordering the cattle their former allowance.

10th. A letter from the General informing me that the Select Committee are not likely to take any notice of the representations made concerning the monopolies of grain, and that he himself would say nothing further on the subject until he came up the country.

13th. A general Court-martial held at Dinapore for the trial of two Deserters.

14th. A complaint from Capt. Ironside that, being informed some sepoys who had deserted from his Battn. were in a village the other side of the river, he sent a few seapoys and harcaras for them, but the Jemadar of the village refused to deliver them and said they were his seapoys, notwithstanding they were clothed and armed the same as his battalion. I laid the above complaint before Mr Alexander, who assured me that he would use every

means in his power to secure the Jemadar and seapoys.

15*th*. Ensign Arskin died at Dinapore.

16*th*. Major Grant is arrived at Calcutta, and brought news that General Coote will soon be round to Bengal on board the *Hawk* sloop of war.

19*th*. I received the orders of my appointment of full Colonel and to the command of the 1st Brigade. Lieut. Col. Grant is removed to the 3rd Brigade.

22*nd*. I went to see my budgerow at Gouldshibaug [Gulzarbagh].

23*rd*. This morning I had a visit from Col. Leslie, who told me that he thought it very extraordinary that I should continue to command at Bankipore and Dinapore after my appointment to the 1st Brigade. I endeavoured to convince him of the impropriety of such behaviour, there being no orders for me to quit my command, nor would I think of doing it before I had sufficient reason to believe that it was the intention of the Governor and Commander in Chief that I should proceed to Monghyr without any further orders. Col. Leslie flew in a passion, and declared he would take the command of the brigade in the morning. I advised him to be very cautious how he would act, as he must well know what would be the consequences of such behaviour. He then took his leave and called again in the Evening, but still continued to think that I had no right to command the 3rd Brigade, and that it would be a reflection on his character to suffer it, and that he was therefore determined to assume the command of the cantonments in the morning. I then declared that I would put him in arrest the moment he attempted to do it. Col. L. cooled a little and gave up the point, observing that I must take the entire blame upon myself. I assured him I would, and to convince

him that I had no pecuniary views he was welcome to every advantage arising from the command from the day I was in orders at Bankipore. I then observed to him that he could not be a stranger to Col. Morgan's having a prior right to command the cantonments and that he must know I had power to order him down for that purpose, and that I was sure that if Col. L. was at Buxar, and a senior officer to Col. Morgan, he would expect to be called down, but that I was willing to serve Col. L. and therefore did not order the other down. On this he went away pretty well pleased.

24*th*. I this evening received a letter on the Service from one of the General's A.D.C.'s directed to me, or officer commanding the 3rd Brigade, which determined me to set out for Monghyr without further orders.

25*th*. I sent my horses in boats to Monghyr.

27*th*. At 5 P.M. I embarked on my budgerow at Mr Stephenson's, also Capt. Macpherson. The wind was so fresh against us that we did not get to Goolsherbaug till it was dark.

28*th*. Set out a little after daylight, the wind strong from N.-E. Stopped this evening 5 coss from Bar.

CHAPTER IV.

AT MONGHYR, AUGUST 1770 TO FEBRUARY 1771.

At Monghyr, August 1770 to February 1771. Colonel Champion's Journal. Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, arrives at Monghyr on 6th November; reviews the troops, and invites the gentlemen of the Brigade to dinner. A duel between Captain Denis Morrison and Lieutenant John Campbell. Captain Briscoe on his dignity. Orders received to march to Dinapore, 24th January.

Colonel Champion's Journal (*continued*).

1770. *Aug.* 30*th*. At 5 landed at Monghyr Fort. I went to Col. Upton's Quarters, where Col. Goddard, the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, came and delivered the Command over to me.

31*st*. I went to see some part of the Fort, but found the Officers' Quarters in a most ruinous state, and the whole of the Fort overgrown with Grass and Rubbish.

Septr. 1*st*. Mr Colville, Paymaster to the Brigade, informed me that he had only Murshedabad siccas [1] to pay the troops, by which they must lose 3%, exclusive of the 1% allowed when they are not paid in the proper species of Rupees. I had a complaint from Col. Goddard that the Paymaster took upon him to object to the payment of Bills, after they

[1] Sikka means first "coined," then "newly coined." Sikka rupees were for a time at a premium as compared with Company's rupees, or worn rupees.—Hobson Jobson.

had been signed by the Commanding Officer of the Brigade. I sent for the Paymaster and told him I was much surprised at his having acted so Extraordinary a part, and that I expected he would not take the liberty of doing so by me. He replied that he only meant to represent to Col. Goddard that the payment of such a Bill was contrary to his Instructions.

The Paymaster informed me that there was a quantity of the Company's Grain in his Golah,[1] which was sent up by Mr Beecher for the use of the Brigade, that it was at first sold at 13½ seers per rupee, but that some of the boats being lost, the price was raised to 10½ seer for a rupee by Col. Peach's order, so that the Company might not be loosers. I wrote to General Barker about the Grain and Loss upon Rupees, both of which I thought a hardship upon the men.

3rd. I received an order from General Barker to continue the Command of the 3rd Brigade till the arrival of Col. Grant. This order was dated 12 days after my appointment. I cannot help remarking here what a fine Hobble Col. Leslie was likely to have got in if he had persisted in the Resolution he had taken on 23rd ult. I wrote to the General vindicating my Conduct for having left the Command of the 3rd Brigade. The same dawk brought me permission to appoint Capt. Macpherson my Aid-de-Camp.

5th. I reviewed the Camp equipage of the Brigade and found the whole in pretty Good order, except the 2nd Battn. of the Regiment, which had none.

6th. I reviewed the Cattle belonging to the Contractor and found them in a pretty good Condition, except the Beasty [2] Bullocks, which were very poor and some extremely small. *8th.* In the

[1] Storehouse.
[2] Presumably bullocks for the bhistis or water-carriers.

evening I paid a Visit to Mrs Peach at the Hill.

11*th*. I saw the 5th Battn. of Seapoys go through their new Manual Exercise. They were very steady under arms and did not perform amiss.

[Captain Macpherson notes under this date: "I was taken ill this evening with a violent fever, which had very nearly carried me off, for I was three times given over before the 21st, which was the first of my recovery."]

25*th*. Col. Grant arrived this evening, also his Lady, and on 26*th* set out for Patna after supper.

28*th*. I reviewed the Contractor's Cattle, and discharged about a hundred. This evening I went out of the Fort with my family, &c., to live in Tents to the Southward of Sitacoon, where we found it much more pleasant and cooler than in the Fort. News came that Major Smith died at Patna a few days ago.

October 1*st*. I returned to the Fort on account of the bad weather.

4*th*. Capt. Gravely and Lt. McClintock arrived with recruits from Calcutta, 37 of them for my Brigade.

5*th*. The two Battns. of the Regiment joined at Exercise with 4 Guns and performed but so so.

7*th*. Two Battns. of the Regiment joined with 4 Guns and fired.

8*th*. The General's Horses and Elephants arrived.

10*th*. I went to see the Hospital, but was far from being pleased with the Quarter Master, Mr Curfy, for the repairs going on so very slow. Mr Lyon's people are at work on the New building within the Octagon Yard.

11*th*. Capt. Crawford's Battn. fired remarkably well.

13*th*. Capt. Briscoe's Battn. fired and behaved very well.

14*th*. I am informed that the General is arrived at Barrampore.

18*th*. I was obliged to send Dr Williams orders to come in person with his Report of the Hospital, as he has made a common practice of sending it with a Black servant without cover or seal.

20*th*. A Brigade day. The Troops behaved pretty well.

25*th*. We are informed that the General lost 40 boats with Baggage near Moncoot, and that most of the Gentlemen with him were considerable Losers; also a Letter from Major Grant informs me that Mr Henry Grant's Banian [1] had absented himself with an immense sum of money which his Brother had been collecting to put into the Company's Cash for Remittances to Europe on account of his Constituents. I am likely to be a very considerable Loser on this occasion. To make the best of it I wrote circular letters to Mr Alexander, the Raja [Shitab Ray], and all the Supervisors,[2] Fouzdars,[3] &c., to stop the above Banian, or any person that should appear like him, offering a Reward of 1000 rupees for him.

27*th*. A Brigade day. The troops behaved very well.

28*th*. Mr Geo. Vansittart arrived. 29*th*. A Brigade day. By accident an artillery man, who was loading a Gun, had his arm entirely Blown off, and the other man, who was also loading, had his arm much wounded. 31*st*. The General was at Rajamaul the 28th.

November 1*st*. Col. Tottingham arrived here.

3*rd*. The General was at Colgong on the 2nd, and will come by water to Jangheery.

5*th*. A Brigade day. The General writes that he cannot be at Monghyr before the 9th.

[1] An agent. [2] Chief Revenue Officer of districts.
[3] See note on Faujdar, p. 30.

6th. The General arrived about 10 ocl. in the forenoon. I received him at the Gates of the Fort, accompanied by my Aide de Camp and Brigade Major without turning out any part of the Troops. Europe letters by the Mansfield inform us that the Council is reduced to nine, and that General Barker is to have the third seat at the Board on Military affairs.

7th. General Coote and Sir John Lindsay [1] are hourly expected at Calcutta. *9th.* A letter from Col. Winwood that Mr H. Grant's sircar [2] is taken in Calcutta.

10th. The General reviewed the Regiment, 5th and 17th Battns. with 8 Guns. He was received with fixed Bayonets, Drums beating a march, and saluted by all the officers as he passed them, but he did not go round after he had taken post by me in the front. He requested I would proceed in the usual Manner. I then Made the Line perform as follows: first, Manual Exercise and Evolutions; 2nd, Subdivision firing, Standing, advancing and retreating; 3rd, Grand Subdivision firing; 4th, Street firing, advancing and retreating; 5th, a General Volley; 6th, Marched by the General in open ranks, Officers saluting as they passed. Concluded with forming the Escalier, or staircase, and from it the Battalion. *N.B.*—When the Col. dismounted the Aide de Camp took post on the Right flank of the front Rank of the Battn. and the Brigade Major on the Right flank of the Rear Rank of the Grenadiers, both on horseback and saluting the General with their Swords. The officers who carried the Colours did not drop them as they marched past the General, on which account I was very much displeased and

[1] Sir John Lindsay had been appointed to be Commander-in-Chief of the King's ships and to be plenipotentiary from the Crown in dealing with Indian powers.

[2] A collector—the baniyan of the preceding page.

had a Great mind to put them under arrest, but they informed me they acted agreeable to strict orders received from Col. Upton. Upon enquiry I found this to be really true. I was still uneasy for fear the General should suppose I ordered it so, but afterwards I had reason to believe he was not [*sic*]. The General was so well pleased with the behaviour of the Troops that he ordered all the Europeans 3 days' full provisions extraordinary. Lt. Col. Pearse arrived this evening.

12*th*. The General saw the Troops perform the remaining part of the Exercise: Column advancing, Oblong square, Column retreating, Square by Grand Divisions, Column advancing through a pass, retreating through a pass, the oblong square from the Column retreating, a General Volley. The day's performance was all very well done till the Volley, which was very indifferent owing to carelessness of one of the orderly drummers in striking his stick on the Hoop of the Drum before the signal for firing, when the Line was upon the Present, which made some fire as they took it for the proper signal. The Gentlemen of the Brigade dined and supped with the General. At dinner every person was merry and happy, but after supper, and the General and most of the company were gone to bed, some dispute happened between Capt. Denis Morrison and Lt. John Campbell of the 17th Battn., in which the latter thought himself affronted and quitted the Company and waited for Capt. M. on the road leading to Capt. M.'s quarters, and insisted upon his fighting him. Capt. M. did all he could to persuade him from it till morning, but to no purpose. He then told him he had no sword by him. Campbell replied that he would go with him to his Quarters where he might get one. They accordingly went, and after Capt. M. got his sword they drew in the dark and after Capt. M. received four wounds

he gave poor Campbell one which killed him instantly. He then went to Major Wear and informed him of the accident. Major Wear put him under Confinement, and placed a sentry over the body of the deceased till Morning, and reported the whole to me and I to the General.

13*th*. A Court of Enquiry was held to examine the circumstances relative to the death of Lt. Campbell, which appeared Much the same as already mentioned, or Rather more favourable to Capt. Morrison.

15*th*. The General gave an entertainment to Many of the Gentlemen and all the Ladies.

16*th*. The 32nd Battn. was Re-formed this morning by the General. One-fourth of the men drafted to the 2nd Brigade and the remainder to the 1st. The division of the drafts intended for the 3rd, 4th, and 13th Battns. at Calcutta were ordered to remain at Monghyr under the command of Capt. Edmondson.

17*th*. General Barker gave a breakfast at Sitacoon.

18*th*. I did the same at the Bungloe upon the Hill. At 12 ocl. the General and his family went on board their budgerows at the Water Gate. A Salute of 17 guns was fired from the Fort. Letters from Calcutta inform us that General Coote is highly displeased with the behaviour of the Governor and Council at Madras, and that instead of coming to Bengal, as was expected, he is gone to Bozra on Board the *Hawk* ship-of-war in order to proceed to England overland and represent his grievances (which are many).

19*th*. A Brigade day. The troops performed but indifferent.

24*th*. Col. Pearse went on board his budgerow to Patna.

25*th*. We are informed of poor Wilmot's death,—a young man much regretted by every one who knew him.

29*th*. A Brigade day, Good firing. An order was

issued yesterday that officers who had Quarters of their own out of the Fort should give up those they had in it for the use of officers Living in Tents. Capt. Briscoe, Commanding the Seapoys, told me with great warmth of Temper that he would not give up his Quarters in the Fort, but I Might put whom I pleased in them, pleading he did duty in garrison. Seeing him grow warm and extremely agitated, I told him if he said another word I would oblige him to sleep in the Garrison. His answer was that he did not want any Indulgence, he would do his duty and so on. He then delivered me a paper recommending a jemadar [1] to be made a subadar,[2] but he did it in such a manner as to appear with Great disrespect.

30*th*. Capt. Briscoe took an opportunity of apologising for the warmth with which he expressed himself yesterday.

December 1*st*. The troops were mustered. 2*nd*. I Reviewed the Contractor's cattle. Many of them were so bad that I discharged 93, and received 45 into the Service. 3*rd*. A Brigade day. The troops behaved well. Artillery practice began. 4*th*. The Regiment and Seapoys began firing at the target. 6*th*. The 1st Troop of cavalry arrived from Calcutta, commanded by Lt. Baillie.

9*th*. Reported that the Maratoes are coming towards Korah. Two Harcarahs arrived from Purneah with a letter from Mr Duccarell informing me that the Synasses [3] were coming down from the

[1] Lit. a leader of a body—in military rank the officer next to a subadar.

[2] Lit. one holding a *suba* or province. A chief officer. The chief native officer of a company or troop.

[3] Sunyasis, or Gosains. Defined in Forbes's 'Oriental Memoirs,' Vol. i. p. 312, as "Hindu mendicants who march in large bodies through Hindustan and levy heavy contributions; they are sometimes hired as auxiliaries, being an athletic race, brave and hardy, seldom encumbered with drapery, and often entirely naked."

mountains, and that it would not be safe to send money for the Brigade without a strong Escort. 10*th*. A Brigade day. The Troops performed but indifferent.

15*th*. Capt. Thomson arrived with a detachment of recruits.

17*th*. Lt. Moses Crawford, with a detachment of 140 seapoys, marched for Purnea. About 11 ocl. a letter from Mr Duccarell informing me that there is no occasion for the detachment as the Synasses don't seem inclined to be troublesome. I therefore sent orders after Lt. Crawford to halt at Sultangunge. This day was a Brigade day. I came in front of the Left of the Line where the 17th Battn. was formed and Capt. Briscoe in front of it. He made his Battn. shoulder and kept fronting of it, with his back towards me the whole time I was going along the Line. This did appear to me as if meant as a mark of disrespect, and I took notice of it at the time to Capt. Macpherson. On the same day and many days before, when he delivered in his field returns he did it in a contemptuous and disrespectful manner using these words " A Return," turning short round; and although I had desired him to sit down to Breakfast, not willing to take notice of his behaviour, yet he turned upon his heel and walked out of my Quarters.

18*th*. Capt. Thomson set out with his Detachment for Patna. Col. Goddard arrived from Patna.

19*th*. Letters from Calcutta inform us they have news overland that Sir George Colebroke and Lord Clive's party are in the Direction, and Mr Sullivan and his party entirely overset.

20*th*. A general Court Martial was held for the trial of Capt. Dennis Morrison, &c.

23*rd*. Capt. Hoggan, with a detachment of Europeans, arrived from Calcutta. This evening Capt. Briscoe, Capt. Thomson, and Capt. Wear

came to my quarters. I was then walking in the Garden when the two latter Gentlemen came to meet me, but Capt. B. remained walking by himself in the Hall. On my coming at the Head of the Steps Lt. Curfy desired to speak to me. When I returned I found Capt. Briscoe was gone, and on enquiring for him Capt. Macpherson told me he came to see Mr Bateman. I mention this as his whole behaviour appeared Haughty and disrespectful.

25*th*. This being Christmas Day, the Commanding Officers of Corps came with their Officers, I did suppose, to pay their respects to me as is customary on the day. Capt. Briscoe came with Col. Goddard and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Seapoys, but I observed that Capt. B. was the only person who kept at a great distance, and in a minute afterwards he went out of the House without speaking a word. I several days before gave all the Gentlemen of the Brigade a General Invitation to dinner this day, but Capt. B. did not come but engaged several to dine with him. However, I had 120 gentlemen to dinner, if not more.

29*th*. Judging it proper, I acquainted Col. Goddard of Capt. Briscoe's behaviour in general terms, he being Commandant of that Corps, and at the same time assured him that unless I immediately saw an alteration in that Gentleman's Conduct towards me, which I deemed highly disrespectful, I was determined to bring him to a General Court Martial. Col. Goddard promised to speak to him, and at the same time declared him highly to Blame, and that his Conduct was censured by all his friends.

30*th*. Col. Goddard brought Capt. Briscoe to my Quarters. He told me that Capt B. had protested to him that he never meant to Show any disrespect to me, but judged that I was displeased with him. As I had a number of gentlemen with me at the time it was inconvenient to say more. I

therefore, at Col. Goddard's request, told him there was no occasion to say more or for any further trouble to be taken.

31*st*. A Brigade day. As I was not well I ordered Col. Goddard to exercise the Brigade.

1771. *Janry.* 1*st*. 29 guns fired at sunrise to Welcome in the New Year.

3*rd*. We are informed from Dinapore that Lt. Osburn, who was suspended for a month, went to Col. Morgan's quarters and challenged him, but the other declining it Lt. O. made free with his person, and that he quitted the cantonment and claimed the protection of the Civil power, who refused to give him up when demanded by the General.

4*th*. Capt. Waddington dead at Burrampore.

5*th*. Confirmed that Col. Morgan and Lt. O. fought with pistols, and Col. M. was wounded but not dangerously. I have a return of my old complaint of pain in my hip.

9*th*. Capt. Elliot, commanding the Artillery, reported that many of the Artillery stores arrived from Calcutta were very bad. I ordered a Capt. of Artillery and 2 subalterns to survey them and report.

11*th*. I ordered Capt. Elliot to set all his artificers to repair the Tumbrells.

13*th*. The General sent an order that all the Camp equipage, elephants, and camels of this Brigade, should be sent to the 3rd Brigade which was ordered to take the Field. 14*th*. The Camp Equipage, &c., set out for Dinapore.

15*th*. A Brigade day. 16*th*. The sentence of General Court Martial was sent me by the General. Capt. Dennis Morrison confined for murder acquitted. Thomas Hardman, private, confined for mutiny, is found guilty and sentenced to receive 3000 lashes, but the General remitted 2000!

17*th*. Major Hannay arrived on his way to Allahabad.

19*th*. Orders from the General for 4 Companies of Seapoys to March to Patna. 20*th*. The above detachment marched under the command of Lt. William Duncan.

22*nd*. I ordered a Havildar and 6 seapoys to be called in from the Fouzdar of Mongheir, having reason *to think that* he employed them improperly. Capt. Vazielli died at Calcutta the 15th inst.

23*rd*. A letter from the General *that* there was a chance of the Brigade marching. 24*th*. Orders from the Board [The Council in Calcutta], dated 17th, to march the Brigade to Dinapore, leaving only a Small Garrison at Monghier, and to apply to the Councils of Revenue at Mootagill and Patna for Boats, Bullocks, &c. I gave necessary Instructions to the Surgeon Major, Commissary of Boats, Contractor, &c. I wrote to the General to acquaint him with the orders received and the distressed situation we were in, having no Tents nor a single boat but one of 400 maunds. I also wrote to the Council of Revenue at Patna and to Mr Harwood at Rajamaul for Boats, Bearers, Bullocks, and Coolies.

25*th*. A few large boats were brought in, and the 18 pounders embarked with other stores.

26*th*. Embarking the Artillery. 6 boats belonging to Major Polier arrived from Below.

27*th*. I divided the few Tents, Field Officers' Dining and sleeping Marquees, &c., for the different corps, but the number being far short, I requested that all the Gentlemen who had tents of their own would give them up for the present march.

28*th*. Still embarking the Artillery. Mr Grant, Deputy Commy. of Boats, informs us that he had sent seapoys to Shipgunge for Boats, but Mr Harwood would not suffer any boats to be taken.

29th. The Artillery and stores all embarked.

30th. A letter from Mr Harwood that it will not be in his power to furnish more cattle for the Brigade for he has not cattle to till the ground.

31st. The Artillery Compy. and 5th Battn. of Seapoys march out of the Fort and encamp about a coss distance.

Febry. 1st. Sufficient boats being arrived, the Deputy Commissary is directed to discharge the surplus for the Gentlemen to hire them for their own use. Tents for the Regiment and 17th Battn. were pitched near Singia Nulla 2½ coss from the Fort.

CHAPTER V.

MARCH FROM MONGHYR TO DINAPORE, AND HALT AT DINAPORE AND BANKIPORE, 1771.

Colonel Champion's and Captain Macpherson's Journals; march from Monghyr to Dinapore, February to March 1771. At Dinapore, 17th March to 2nd July. The Cadet Company ordered to be called "The Select Picquet." Mr Alexander, Chief of Patna, and troubles about grain. Colonel Champion censures officers for neglect to loop their coats with lace. Lieutenant Osborne's confinement. Mr Jekyll succeeds Mr Alexander as Chief at Patna. Taking of the Fort of Burriria in Saran, May 1771.

Colonel Champion's Journal (*continued*).

1771. *Feby. 2nd.* I embarked on my Budgerow and went up to the Ground where the Tents were pitched. Capt. Edmonson to remain and take command of the Garrison. An officer from the Artillery to remain behind to take care of the Grand Magazine. Mr Ford, Surgeon, and Mr Searlin, Assistant, were left with the Hospital.

3rd. The Regiment and 17th Battn. march to their Encampment near Singia Nulla. Order from the General to form the Cadets into a Company, and march the whole of them with the Brigade. I appoint Capt. Wm. Thomson to command them. I am forced to halt the Brigade to-morrow for want of Carriage Cattle. I find it necessary to proceed by water on account of my bad State of Health.

4th. A letter from the General expressing surprise at the great number of Boats employed for the Brigade, not recollecting that we had no Camp Equipage for above one-third of our people—the distressed situation of the country around us, which can hardly afford half the number of Bullocks necessary and no Coolies or Bearers and the Supervisors not giving the least assistance. I gave the Cadets 3 Large Boats to transport their Baggage to Dinapore, which I hired at my own Expense.

Captain Macpherson's Draft Journal.

5th. The Line marched at 5 oclock, and came to their ground at 9 beyond Mednychowky, 4 coss from Singia Nulla.

6th. Marched at 5 A.M., came to their ground at Nabobgunge at 9, about 4 coss. By a Letter from Mr Law at Cawnpore in the Korah Province we hear the Maratoes have moved towards Etawa.

7th. Brigade marched to Litchmipore, 4½ coss. The Col. and his family in their Budgerow arrived at Dariapur.

Col. Champion's Journal.

7th. Letter from Mr Alexander and the Council of the Revenues at Patna requesting I would do everything in my power to prevent the followers of the Army from Plundering the Inhabitants, as they had complaints laid before them. This letter was dated the very day the Troops marched from Monghier. The distance from there to Bankipore is 48 coss, or 96 miles. At firing the morning Gun in Camp the Wad struck a Seapoy and killed him on the spot. The Europeans keep very healthy, for only two are gone on board the Hospital boats.

Extract of a letter from Cawnpore, dated 21st Janry. 1771.

"Yesterday at 11 ocl. a horseman came galloping from Cojah Seed Cawn, the Nabob's camp, and informed Capt. Brook that the above Nabob of that Province was murdered. Capt. Brook set out immediately with the Grenadiers of the 2nd Battn., and on his arrival in camp, finding everything in the greatest confusion, he seated the man on the Musnud [1] who was next in authority to the late Cojah Seed Cawn. Gunga Sing, one of the Rajahs of the Province, having for some time carried on a correspondence with the Marattoes and stirring up the other Rajahs to rebellion, the Nabob sent for him to pay his revenues, and told him to go to Capt. Brook's tent. When the Nabob got into his pallankeen, and while his head was turned to one side, the Rajah and some of his people fell upon him and killed him and fled, pursued by some of the Nabob's horsemen, who killed the Rajah. Accounts from Furruckabad say that Ahmet Cawn has made peace with the Marattoes, and only begged they would allow him a place to retire to spend the rest of his days in ease and obscurity."

Col. Champion's Journal.

8th. The Brigade marched this morning to Duriapur, 6 coss, and on 9th to Mockra, 6 coss. *9th.* News from Allahabad that Capt. Stewart stormed a mud Fort in the Korah Province. He and 2 subalterns were wounded.

10th. The 1st Division marched to Chundy, above Bar, ¾ of a coss, and the 2nd to Massumgunga ½ a coss short of Bar.

11th. Halted. *12th.* Marched to Rynasseray.

[1] Lit. on the throne or cushion of State—that is, he appointed him as successor.

Several Gentlemen came on board to dine with me. The Artillery to-morrow to be divided at the Head of the different Battns. upon the March, and to form a park upon each flank of the Regiment when halted. Capt. Macpherson to proceed to Dinapore to acquaint the General with the Brigade being so near Patna, and to ask his further orders.

13*th*. Brigade march to Bycauntpore, 5 coss.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

1771. 13*th Feby*. I set out from the Budgerow at half-past four A.M. on Horse back, and arrived at Bankipore 10 minutes before 8 oclock, when Mr Stephenson informed me that the General had left Dinapore the 5th inst. and was gone to Benaris. I immediately wrote to inform the Colonel thereof, and went to look at the quarters at Dinapore. The Commng. Officer's House was filled with the General's Baggage, and no keys left. I therefore took possession of the Field officers' Quarters to the west end of the Cantonment for the Colonel, and returned to Bankipore.

Col. Champion's Journal.

I arrived at Noon Golah this evening, and supped with Capt. Ahmuty.

14*th*. The Brigade march to Jaffier Cawn's Garden, and encamp to the S.E. of it. I went in my Pallanqueen to the West Gate of Patna, and from thence in My Chariot to Bankipore. 15*th*. Troops halt. Mr Law informs me that Lt. M'Clintock is dangerously wounded, but that there is some hope of his recovering. Lt. Col. Goddard reported that the road outside of Patna was not possible for Artillery, which surprised me not a little, as there used to be a very fine road, which I went frequently with

Artillery. However, I spoke with Mr Alexander, and ordered the Brigade to march to-morrow through the City.

16*th*. Brigade marched to Lohannepore, 5 coss, and encamped near the Tank by the Phulwari road.

17*th*. Marched to Dinapore, 3½ coss. The Regiment went into their Quarters. The Artillery and Seapoys to encamp on the Grand Parade. The Cadet Company to be in readiness to join the 3rd Brigade.

At Dinapore and Bankipore, 17th March to 2nd July 1771.

21*st*. I had a visit from the Rajah. He informed me that the Marrattoes were gone to besiege Delhi, and that the General was settling some treaty with Suja Doulah, and would not come down the Country before he had answers from the Board to some letters he wrote them.

22*nd*. Mr Alexander with several of the Gentlemen of the Factory dined with me.

23*rd*. This evening a play was acted at Patna, and the Gentlemen of the Brigade invited.

A report prevails that the Marratoes have taken Delhi, and sent an invitation to the King, Shah Allum, to go up to them and that they would place him on the Throne of his Ancestors.

[During the monsoon of 1770 the Mahratta Armies had encamped at Deeg and negotiated with Najib-ud-Dowlah, the Minister at Delhi, and after he died in October 1770 with his son, Zabita Khan, who succeeded him in that post. They also negotiated with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and with the Emperor Shah Alam, who was residing at Allahabad. After ravaging the territories of the Rohillas early in 1771 and taking Etawa they marched against Delhi and took the city except the citadel, which they left in the occupation of Prince Jewan Bakht, the Emperor's son.]

24*th*. Letter from the General directing that the Cadet Company should in future be called "Select Picquet," and recommending a few of the Gentlemen who are most attentive to their duty to be appointed Serjeants and Corporals, as it would be the cause of some Emulation. 25*th*. The Select Picquet marched to join the 3rd Brigade.

Capt. Macpherson's Journal.

March 5th. In consequence of a complaint by a follower of the Army, who was cruelly beat, the Colonel issued an order forbidding any officer whatever to punish any follower of the Army without the Commanding Officer's permission and orders.

Col. Champion's Journal.

6*th*. Mr Alexander, Chief of Patna, came to visit me. I spoke to him about Grain being dearer in the Military Gunge and Bazar than at the City, owing to the want of Dustucks, there being a duty of 30 rupees per 100 maund collected at Goldengunge and 2 or 3 others in the Sircar Sarang Country under the direction of Mr Goldin, a Bullock Load of Grain paying a duty of 11 pice. Mr Alexander declared that there was not the slightest advantage arising to him from the above collection, and that he would give the Chowdry as many Dustucks as he had occasion for.

March 9th. A detachment of recovered men arrived from Monghier, also some Recruits for the Regiment under the command of Lt. Humphrys.

10*th*. The Paymaster having no money to pay the Cadets, their march is put off.

11*th*. I visited the Barracks, and observed that the Serjeants were so much among the private men, there being no separate room for them, that it was

impossible for them to do their duty, or keep that subordination necessary to promote Discipline. I therefore ordered a small Brick room to be made at the end of the Barracks of each Battn. for the Serjeant Majors and Grenadier Serjeants and a small mat room in the back Verandah of each Company for their respective Serjeants.

March 12*th*. The Col. was going past the Main guard, and the officer paid the compliment of Rested arms only without Beat of Drum. He directed me to enquire the cause. The officer told me it was owing to the Drummer being absent. The Col. ordered the Drummer to be confined.

By letters from Corah we are informed that the King's 2 Battns. and Capt. Harper are preparing to march up the Country with Sujah Dowlah. It is thought he will proceed to Delhi in hopes of settling matters so as to place the King upon the Throne of his ancestors.

15*th*. Artillery stores arrived from Calcutta for the 1st and 3rd Brigade.

17*th*. Mr Alexander asked all the Civilians and Officers to dinner, this being St Patrick's day.

19*th*. Capt. Crawford observed to me that the duties were astonishing upon everything sold in the Bazar. Above 100 Boats with Artillery stores arrived at Patna.

20*th*. Complaint was made to the Colonel that several Bullocks coming with Grain and other necessaries for the Military bazar were stopped at Bissimburpore by a man sent there by Meir Asheriff to collect duties for the Nizamet. It being an unprecedented act of oppression to collect any duty upon provisions, &c., coming in for the Army, the Col. ordered a party of Seapoys to go for him.

21*st*. The Col. received a letter from Meir Asriff requesting the man's enlargement, and that he

would prevent such proceedings in future. His request was complied with.

March 22nd. The Brigade was reviewed. The Colonel was extremely angry at the behaviour of the Troops this day, and issued the following Brigade Order: "The ill behaviour of the Troops in the Field this Morning gives the Colonel great concern. All orders that relate to the men should be explained in a very particular manner. It is the duty of every Commanding Officer to pay attention to this point. The Regiment is to be out every morning, and to be continued in one Body and to fire twice a week as before. Some officers are observed with their coats not loop'd. As there has been time sufficient given to have provided themselves the Gentlemen may expect, if they do not conform, that they will be put under arrest for disobedience of orders."

The Col. told me that Lt. Col. Upton came to him in the evening and told him the orders of the day gave him much concern, as they reflected in Particular upon him and the other Field officers of the Regiment, that he had done everything in his power to keep the officers attentive to their duty, and he believed the 2nd Battn. had never been out without a Field officer, and it was hard upon him and Major Blair to suffer from any other's inattention to their duty (meaning Major W.), and what made it still worse was that these orders were to be sent to the Governor and General, which would give them room to censure them. The Col. replied that it was with an Intention to send them that they were issued, that his Bad state of health prevented him from seeing the Regiment for several months, and now finding such a relaxation in their discipline he thought the Blame should properly fall upon the Commanding Officers of Corps whose duty it was to be attentive to it.

Col. Upton then observed that the latter part of

the orders was particularly pointed at him and 2 or 3 young officers, that he had spared no pains to get small[1] lace for Looping but without success. Col. Champion answered that there was not the Least doubt but Young officers would neglect paying proper attention to orders when they saw their Commanding Officer disobey them, but that he had some small[1] lace which was much at his service, that he might not in future be Liable to reproofs of the Like nature.

23rd. The Col. and his family went to Bankipore on a visit to Mr Stephenson. *24th.* We are informed the General is going to Allahabad.

25th. The Col. received a letter from Lt. Smith apologising for not appearing in full regimentals on the 22nd.

26th. News that the Fort of Pallamau was taken by Capt. Camac on the 21st. Mr Alexander, Chief of Patna, told the Col. that Lt. Osborne was arrived from Calcutta under the care of an officer, but not confined, and that Mr Cartier had directed he should be delivered to the Commanding Officer at Dinapore. Mr Alexander begged very hard for his not being close confined. However, the Col. thinking his crime Capital, declined complying.

27th. The Col. ordered a subaltern from the Regt. to Bankipore to take charge of Lt. Osborne and escort him to Dinapore. In the Evening Mr Alexander came with Lt. Osborne and delivered him over to the Col., who told him that he must keep within his Quarters till he heard from the General, and that a sentry would be placed upon him. He replied he hoped there was no necessity for that, as he would not disobey orders. The Col. told him that if one was too many he would order two sentries over him, and directed Ensign Marly to take charge

[1] The Colonel's Journal says "narrow lace."

of him to the Cantonment and place him under a Guard. Col. Goddard came to the Col. soon after and asked his advice as a friend whether it would be prudent for him to take Mr Osborne into his Quarters to Live with him. The Col. replied he really thought it was not, and that he might easily befriend him without doing it so publicly. However, he paid no attention to this advice, and Mr Osborne lives in his Bungalow with him.

28*th*. The Col. and his family returned to Dinapore. Capt. Knudson has resigned the Service, and Capt. Bevan has got his Battalion. Major Auchmuty, with the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Battns. of seapoys, arrived at Monghier the 26th inst.

29*th*. This evening all the Members of the Council of Revenue and Factory at Patna went to Jaffer Cawn's Gardens to meet Mr Jekyll, the new Chief.

30*th*. Mr Alexander went into Patna and delivered the New Chief the keys of the Factory, &c., and the whole dined with Mr Alexander.

31*st*. Lt. Grant was directed to discharge all the Contractor's Carriage Bullocks except 60 to bring ammunition from the Grand Magazine.

April 1*st*. The Col. this morning called me aside and told me that he thought it would be a particular reflection upon the Regiment to send the whole of the orders of the 22nd ult. to the Governour and Commander in Chief, part of which he only meant for a reproof, and he would send a part only. The Col. further told me that Col. Upton who came to Bankipore daily for these two or three days past, behaved with so uncommon a coolness and formality that he could not help remarking it, which he supposed was on account of the orders of the 22nd. The Col. went to supper at Myer Ashriff's.

2*nd*. I returned with the Col. to Dinapore. Lt. Mackenzie, with 2 companies of Seapoys, marched to relieve the 2 Companies of the Drafts at Palamau.

3rd. We went into Bankipore in hopes of seeing Mr Alexander, but he was set out for Calcutta before we arrived.

4th. The Col. addressed the Board requesting the Brigade might have its tour of the Frontiers, and pointing out the necessity of joining the 3 Battalions of Seapoys from Mônghier,[1] as their long absence from the Brigade must have caused a great and unavoidable relaxation in their Discipline, and at present the 2 Battns. at Dinapore have hardly men enough to do the duty.

5th. The Regiment was reviewed by the Col. They performed their firings pretty well and fired a very good volley, but they are not steady under arms. A letter from the General enquiring on what day Lt. Osborne left Patna for Calcutta, &c., and directing him to send Lt. O. to the 3rd Brigade by an officer. I went to Lt. Col. Goddard's Bungalow, where he was lying sick on his Bed. Lt. Osborne answered that he was so very weak and ill that he was not able to examine such of his papers as he had by him, that Ensign Dodd was the Officer who came up with him, and that he was not in a state of health to be removed. The Col. then wrote to Mr George Vansittart, who was acting Chief when Lt. O. went to Calcutta, to request he would inform him the day Lt. O. left Patna.

The Council of Revenue at Patna applied for 3 companies of Seapoys, two 18 pounders, and a Howitzer for the reduction of the Fort of Burriria [in Saran District].

6th. Mr Vansittart answered that he believed Lt. Osborne left Patna for Calcutta about 12th January last. Capt. Briscoe applied for command of the two 18 pounders and 3 companies going against Burriria, but was told that the Gentlemen

[1] Colonel Champion's Journal says "the three battalions."

of the Council of Revenue had applied for this detachment to join Capt. Ash.

8th. The New Chief of Patna, Mr Jekyll, came to visit the Col. Mrs Semple died at Midnapore some days ago. This day Capt. Wroe had permission to proceed to Calcutta and be absent till the last day of July.

9th. The Chief of Patna sent an indent for stores, ammunition, &c., from the Grand Magazine for Capt. Ash's Detachment going against a fort in the Sircar Sarang country.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

10*th.* Ensign Robert Rayne marched with 3 Companies to join Capt. Ash. I gave Capt. David Morrison leave to go to Monghier for a month.

11*th.* We are informed that the 3rd Brigade arrived at Buxar the 9th. Capt. Hoggan complained that Lt. Curfy refused to obey his orders when he was Commanding Officer of the 1st Battn. I sent for Lt. Curfy, and reprimanded him.

12*th.* It appeared that Lt. Curfy did not know that Capt. Hoggan commanded the 1st Battn., which exculpated him of yesterday's charge.

14*th.* A very pleasant cool day with the Wind from S.E. It appears as if the Southerly Monsoon were set in.

15*th.* Letter from Lt. Col. Grant requesting Mr Osborn should be sent to Monghier, as they were ready to bring on his Trial.

16*th.* Letter from the General stating that he had sent orders to Major Auchmuty to march from Monghier with the 3 Battns. under his command to Dinapore, also that the Select Picquet was to be quartered at this place.

18*th.* I ordered the Bungalows of the European

Cantonment at Bankipore to be repaired for the reception of the Select Picquet.

19th. The Chief and Council of Revenue demand 2 more companies of Seapoys to reinforce Capt. Ash's Detachment. Ensign Scrimgeour marched this afternoon. Intelligence from Capt. Ash that the Fort of Barriria is very strong with two Walls—the inner Wall prodigious strong, and by the best account they have 1000 men in it and 5 pieces of Cannon. The ditch is very broad and full of water. Exclusive of this they have a deep intrenchment round the Fort close to the water's edge, and full of men. I recommended them to Blockade it only until a proper reinforcement should be sent. Two chests of Medicines for the Brigade arrived.

23rd. The 1st Battn. of the 3rd Regiment went down by water.

24th. I directed Capt. Macpherson to acquaint Mr Jekyll that if any more Seapoys are sent from the Brigade a Captain must be sent, and all the Captains were senior to Capt. Ash, but that he might not think himself aggrieved the best method would be to send 5 Companies of Seapoys with the two Guns and Howitzer under the Command of a Field officer. They might depend on it the Strength of Burririah was beyond their expectation. Further, that I could wish that the 4 Companies with Capt. Camac were ordered in. Lt. Wrightson died of fever this afternoon.

27th. The Select Picquet of Cadets arrived at Leslie Gunge. Capt. Thomson reported Messrs Rowland, Raston, and Chester under arrest. The Bankipore Bungalows not being finished, Capt. Thomson was directed to encamp his Picquet in one of the best Topps[1] near the river towards Bankipore. The 2nd Battn. of the 3rd Regt. passed by

[1] Top, a grove of trees.

for Mongheir. 28*th*. I directed Capt. Macpherson to write to Capt. Ash to send the Gin to Manjie to be in readiness for Landing the two 18 pounders.

29*th*. Mr Jekyll and Council apply for a force sufficient to reduce Burriria Fort, and to give orders to the officer who should Command the Detachment to obey such orders as he should receive from the Chief of Patna. I wrote them that all orders regarding the Detachment must go through me, otherwise I would send no Troops from the Brigade till I heard from the General. I directed Capt. Macpherson to deliver this letter and demand their answer.

30*th*. Capt. Macpherson returned this morning with their answer that as the Case in debate was not clear they would give it up to me rather than there should be any further delay in sending off the Troops, but that they did not suppose I meant to concern myself with what regarded the Settling the Country or Capitulating with the Zemindar. By letter from Capt. Ash we learn that Burriria is commanded by Fuckeir Oolah's son, and that he is in Suja Dowla's country, and was coming to relieve the Fort with 600 Horse and Foot. He had intelligence of a Zemindar who was assembling troops for the same purpose, and sent out in search of him and made him prisoner, but he died with fear before he could be brought to Camp. Capt. Ash strongly solicits a reinforcement of two 24 pounders. He had erected his Howitzer Battery, and thrown most of his Shells into the Fort. The one Gun he had would soon be mounted. Two 18 pounders and two 12 pounders and a Howitzer were embarked at Seirpore this day.

May 1*st*. Lt. Reedman reported to Capt. Ash that the enemy annoyed them so much with their fire from the Fort that it would be impossible for them to Maintain their Battery unless he gave permission to fire. Thinking it for the good of the

Service, Capt. Ash reports that he sent him orders to fire upon the Fort rather than abandon the Battery. He intends opening another Battery about 300 yards from the Ditch, and carrying on his approaches to the edge of the glacie. The fire from Lt. Reedman has knocked down part of the Wall, and he has but 70 shells left.

2nd. I ordered Lt. Col. Goddard to take two Companys of Grenadiers from the 5th Battn. and proceed to take Command of the Detachment before Burriria, and Capt. Briscoe to follow with the rest of the Detachment. Lt. Col. Goddard and Capt. Crawford marched this afternoon.

3rd. I ordered Capt. Elliot to return the Howitzer and embark two 5½-inch mortars from the Grand Magazine.

4th. Major Auchmuty, with the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Battns. of Seapoys, arrived this morning. Lt. Johnson set out with two 18 pounders, two 12 pounders, and the two small mortars for the reduction of Burrira Fort. The Chief and Council of Patna sent me a Letter from Mr Goulden, who writes to them that I have reserved to myself the entire settling with Fuckier Oollah, the civil as well as military transactions.

5th. Capt. Briscoe marched with 5 companies of Seapoys to join Col. Goddard. I sent the Chief of Patna a copy of the instructions given Lt. Col. Goddard, by which they will easily perceive what a misrepresentation Mr Goulden made on that subject as it never was my intention to have the smallest concern in any of the Civil departments.

10*th.* In answer to a further letter from the Chief and Council of Patna, I wrote that it would not in the least take away from their Consequence if they were to send every instruction through him to Col. Goddard, as the Interest of the Company was equally dear to me as it could be to them. 11*th.*

I received a letter from Col. Goddard acquainting me that a vakeel has been sent from the Fort to request a Cessation of arms till they receive further orders from Shake Fukir Oollah, which he granted for 5 days only, and that Emir Bux, who commanded the Fort, and Shake Abdoola, Fukier Oolah's eldest son, came to him to offer terms of Capitulation, but were such as Col. Goddard refused, and told him his terms were that the persons of their women should be saved, and that they should retire to any adjacent Village with their Cloaths and Cooking utensils, Gold and Silver Toys, but that they must be searched by a woman sent by Col. Goddard to prevent their taking anything else. 2ndly, every Warlike Store, &c., shall be delivered up. 3rdly, the Troops in the Fort shall be at the mercy of the Conquerors. Col. Goddard represents the Hardship it will be on the Detachment if the stores or money found in the Fort shall be esteemed as the Company's property, and flatters himself that the Commander in Chief and myself will endeavour to prevent it. I wrote him for answer that I approved of the Terms, and that I would use my endeavours in regard to what should be found in the Fort, but that I was afraid that the representations of the Civilians would have greater weight with the Board.

12*th*. A Letter from Col. Goddard acquainting me with the surrender of Burriria Fort on the Terms mentioned yesterday. I sent orders to Col. Goddard to join the Brigade with his Detachment, and deliver the Fort to Capt. Ash.

May 14*th*. I received a Letter from the General approving of every part of my conduct in the debate with the Civil relative to Burriria Fort, and assuring me that he would have acted just in the same manner had he been in my place.

15*th*. This afternoon Raja Mulidore was assassin-

ated by his Chouribardar,[1] who severed his head from the body with the Raja's own sword when he was asleep. He was aged 63 years, and very rich.

16*th*. The Bazar and village ordered to be cleared 150 paces from the end of the bridge.

18*th*. Mr Fraser complained that several of his people had been removed from their houses in the Bazar. I directed Capt. Macpherson to return to him for answer that I resolved to have no people in the Bazar except merchants.

19*th*. Six Captains and the Deputy Judge Advocate are ordered to Mongheer to sit in the General Court Martial for the trial of Lt. Osborne.

21*st*. The Chowdry complained that neither Mr Jekyll nor the Rajah would pay the least attention to the complaints of the Merchants against the people who raised duty upon Grain, &c., coming for the use of the Army, and stop'd Bullocks coming with Grain to perform their own private Business. I spoke to Mr Jekyll, who promised to have it settled.

22*nd*. I received a letter from the General that 10,000 Synass's[2] were coming from the Northward.

23*rd*. Lt. Woodman of the 2nd Brigade arrived this day with 37 Europeans for my Brigade.

24*th*. Lt. Col. Goddard arrived with his Detachment.

25*th*. A most violent storm of wind and rain from the N.W. blew down my Guard house, and killed one of the Jemadars of the Guard and a Seapoy. Lt. Baillie reported that part of the Stables of the Troop was blown down, by which 4 Mogulls were much bruised, 8 Horses rendered unserviceable, and several sisses [syces] killed and maimed. I sent for Mr Fraser to desire he would set about repairing the roofs, &c., and to get the Great house whitewashed.

[1] A man who carried his fly-whisk.

[2] Sunyasis—see note on page 53.

27th. From a return sent to Mr Cobham by his Assistant at Monghier it appeared that 5 Budgerows and 29 boats out of 37 Budgerows and 137 boats at that station had been sent to Bankipore. A report was made that many of the 3rd and 4th Battns. were from their length of service and wounds rendered unfit for the Service.

28th. I looked at the 4th Battn., and they are exceedingly small and old men. I set ⅓ of them for their discharges as unfit for the Service. Major Green of the Artillery arrived at Calcutta the 20th. By letters overland we have reason to expect a speedy War with France and Spain. The Russian Fleet has taken and destroyed the finest Fleet belonging to the Turks.

30th. Three Deputies are appointed to the Qr. Master General. Mr Francis Hare, one of the Members of the Council, died at Calcutta the 23rd inst.

June 2nd. Lt. Johnson arrived with Artillery at Seirpoor. I ordered the Patna Stores to be sent by water to the Grand Magazine and the Brigade Stores to be landed. *3rd.* The Guns arrived at the Cantonments.

4th. This being His Majesty's Birthday, 33 guns were fired at Sunrise, and the troops fired 3 Vollies at 12 oclock. The Regiment fired very well, but the Sepoys very indifferent.

5th. Ensign Marly complained that Major Wear would not give him permission to go to Patna, notwithstanding it was the first time he ever asked to go out of the Cantonments. I thought it too trifling to pay any attention to it.

9th. This day very hot, the thermometer at 101, two Cadets died.

10th. Capt. Toone appointed Aid de Camp to the Governour.

11th. I have appointed Capt. Macpherson to do

the duty of Major of Brigade, and Capt. Pennyng that of Aid de Camp.

12*th*. Finding the recovery of my health coming but very slow, I removed to Bankipore Bungalow with an intention to stay there during the rains. I ordered all reports to be made to the Commanding Officer in the Cantonment [Capt. Macpherson writes: "Lt. Col. Goddard was the senior officer"], who was to send them to me under cover every morning.

13*th*. Capt. Pennyng took charge of the Journal this morning.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

1771. *June* 14*th*. Very heavy Rains—like the setting in of the Rains.

July 2*nd*. Several of the officers at Dinapore are falling sick. Mrs Briscoe died this evening, much regretted by her friends and acquaintances.

[Journal ends; resumed on 10th March 1772.]

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE MARCH BY ARRAH AND BUXAR TO BENARES AND BACK TO DINAPORE: MARCH TO JUNE 1772.

Captain Macpherson's Journal, 10th March to 15th June 1772. March by Arrah and Buxar to Benares to support the Wazir against the Marathas. Visit to Raja Chet Singh at Ramnagar. Halt at Benares. Discordant orders of Civil and Military Authorities as to advance. Complaint by sepoy against an officer. Tom-toms at the time of the Muharram. Reprimand of Ensign Patterson. News of accession to the Chair of Mr Hastings. Inspection of Chunar Fort. Great heat, and deaths of cadets in May. Return to Dinapore.

[The journal is resumed on 10th March 1772, when the Army is marching towards Buxar.

The object of this march may be briefly explained. (Strachey is quoted or followed.) Early in 1772 the Marathas accompanied by the Emperor Shah Alam and his forces, under his General Najf Khan, the Persian, renewed their invasion of Rohilkhand, and attacked the territory of Zabita Khan (son of Najib-ud-Daulah). After defeating the Rohillas at the fords of the Ganges near Shukartar they devastated Rohilkhand (Strachey's 'Hastings and the Rohilla War,' p. 42). The Rohillas appealed to the Wazir of Oudh for help; and he represented to the Bengal Government the peril threatened to himself and to the Company's territories by the advance of the Marathas, and asked that Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, might meet him at Faizabad to arrange for defence. Sir R. Barker met the Wazir on 20th January, and reported to Calcutta that he had ordered the garrison at Allahabad to send a battalion to the lines at Cawnpore. On 3rd February the Calcutta Government, Mr Cartier and his Council, in accordance with the Wazir's proposal, directed Sir R. Barker to accompany him on his march to the frontier

of his dominions adjoining the Rohilla country, and to act for the Company in the negotiations which the Wazir proposed to conduct with the Marathas, the Emperor, and the Rohillas. Sir R. Barker accompanied the Wazir accordingly. The Calcutta Government were anxious to avoid war with the Marathas, and did not authorise Sir R. Barker to promise any armed support. Negotiations were difficult, as the Wazir, the Rohillas, and the Marathas were all unscrupulous and suspicious of each other. After another defeat of the Rohillas by the Marathas and the Emperor's troops, Sir R. Barker, on the Wazir's entreaty, ordered Col. Champion, who commanded the 1st Brigade at Dinapore, to march into Oudh, and be ready to support the Wazir if required.]

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

1772. *March* 10*th*. The Army halted at about Half a Causs to the N.W. of Culwar Village fronting the road, the ground pretty good.

11*th*. The Army march'd at 4 oclock and came to their ground about ½ a causs to the West of Arrah at 8 oclock. The Ground for encampment is very indifferent. Distance this day about 3½ Causs.

12*th*. The Troops march'd at 3 oclock and came to their Ground to the N.E. of Purinder Serai, the Regiment about 9 oclock and the Guns and Sepoys at 10—distance about 6 causs.

13*th*. The Army march'd at Half an hour after 3 oclock and came to their Ground to the N.E. of Rannysagur by 7 oclock. The ground pretty good, but no Topps very near. Distance 3 causs.

14*th*. The Army march'd at 3 oclock and came to the S.W. of Boudgepore [Bhojpur] and encamped the Artillery, Europeans, and one Battalion of Sepoys fronting the Road, and two Battns. formed an angle with their Right to the Road—the Artillery upon the left, then the Cadets, Regiment, and Sepoys. The Ground pretty good, and plenty of

fine Water in our front in a Large Lake. The Regiment did not come to their Ground before 9, the Artillery and Sepoys about 11 oclock—the roads very bad and the distance 5 Pucka Causs which I suppose about 15 miles.

15*th*. We halted at Boudgepore and had great difficulty in getting wood or anything else. This evening, and every evening since we left Culwargaut, a Jemadar and 30 Sepoys were sent about half a causs forward in the evening to prevent the Baggage going in front in the morning. The orders for the Jamadar as follows: that he was not to suffer any Baggage to go on in front, except the Camp Equipage and the field officers' Breakfast things, also two Hackeries with provisions for the Europeans. An Officer of Artillery, with Beldars,[1] was sent to make the Gautts to cross the Ganges.

16*th*. The Troops march at 3 oclock and arrived upon the Bank of the Ganges after 7 oclock, about a causs below Buxar. The Hospital, Select Piquet, and 5th Battalion crossed immediately—the Commissary of Boats being arrived with Budgerows and Boats.

17*th*. The Regiment crossed in the morning, the Artillery after them.

18*th*. This morning the two remaining Battalions of Sepoys crossed. The bullocks will not swim, which is very uncommon.

We heard this day that the Marrattoes are about 80 causs above Bangarmow, and the General and Sujah Dowlah were to march 10 causs above Bangarmow on 11th inst.

20*th*. The army marched to Rainnypore—distance about $4\frac{1}{2}$ long causs. There being no Company's Harcarahs between Benaris and Buxar upon the North side of the Ganges to carry the Daucks, I ordered the Dauck Jemadar and Munshie to

[1] Beldars, wielders of hoe or shovel.

deliver ours to Sujah Dowlah's Harcarahs, but to take their receipts for each packet according to the Col.'s orders.

21*st.* Marched at 3 A.M. to Bulaky Surai—distance about 5 causs. We passed Mahomedabad and marched through Gausspore. Yesterday an order was issued that any one found plundering the Inhabitants should be hanged.

22*nd.* Marched at 2 A.M., the Regiment and Cadets in front, and came to their Ground near Nisera at 8 ocl.—distance about 8 causs. About 3 ocl. marched through Gauzipore. Nine Europeans went to the hospital this day. Rajah Ched Sing's [1] Vakeel came to meet the Colonel, and informed us that the Rajah had made a Bridge of Boats on the Gumpty, and that Bullocks and Camels were ready.

23*rd.* Marched at 2 ocl., the Regiment arrived at their ground half a causs west of Saaidpoor at 6.30, and the Artillery at about 8—Distance 5 causs.

24*th.* Marched at 2 ocl., the Col. arrived at Choubypore at 4.30, and the Regiment before 6. Mr Archdikin came from Benaris to see the Col. Three men were this day catched stealing jaggery [2] in the Village and were brought prisoners to Head Quarters.

The Col. ordered one of them to be hanged near the Road where Army and followers might see them. However, in the Evening, this Sentence was remitted, and the three men each to have both ears cut off and kept upon the road till the whole past, with Toms beating and a man proclaiming the Cause of their punishment. Capt. Smith came from Benaris. He and Mr Archdikin observed that the Col.'s Munshie had been deficient in giving the usual Titles to the Rajah in writing letters.

25*th.* The Army marched at 3.30, and the Regi-

[1] He had succeeded his father, Balwant Singh, in 1770.

[2] Palm sugar.

ment arrived at their ground ½ a causs to the north-west of Benaris at 7 ocl. This day's march is about 6 causs. The Rajah and his swary [Sawari, or retinue] met the Col. this morning at 5 ocl., about half-way between Choubypore and Benaris. He is a young man about 19 years. Orders received from the General for the 17th Batn. of seapoys to join the Brigade and to use all possible expedition to Join the General.

26th. The Brigade halted. The boats with the sick are not arrived, and some of the store-boats are still in the rear. This evening the Col. went to visit the Rajah Chettsing at Ramnagur, on the opposite side of the river. Capt. Smith, Mr Archdikin, Capt. Pennyng, and myself attended him. This is an immense pile of building close upon the river side, and might easily be made very strong. The Rajah met the Col. on the steps, and when we entered his room we left all our slippers at the door. He gave almonds and sweetmeats and very Good Shirbet to drink, Beetle, rose-water, &c. He also gave the Col. a notch [*i.e.*, a nach, or dance], and made some Trifling presents of shaals to him.

On return the Col. received a letter express from the Governor as follows: "I am directed by the Gentlemen of the Select Committee to acquaint you that it is their pleasure that you will, on receiving of this letter, halt immediately with the troops under your command, and continue so to do till you receive further orders from me. Signed John Cartier, Calcutta, March 15th 1772."

[The explanation of this matter is given in a private letter of Hastings, dated 26th March 1772, to Sir George Colebrooke, as follows (Strachey, p. 61): "The first news which we received of the Brigade's having marched was sent down in private letters. The Committee disapproved of this act of self-authority, for which they saw no necessity. There

was no present danger, nor any likely to come on this season. The Vizier had not made any requisition to the President for our aid, nor did any of Sir Robert Barker's letters intimate that he had made any application of the kind to him. They therefore sent orders to the Brigade to halt wherever those orders should reach it. In the meantime we wait for fresh intelligence to enable us to judge whether it shall proceed or return. In its present position it can be of no use . . . and I should have been better pleased that the Brigade had been recalled to our own borders . . . the Marathas would have been less alarmed at our moving, and the authority of the Government would have been maintained, a trivial object, indeed, on the present occasion, because the like may easily be prevented from happening again. It is most probable that I shall be in the Chair by the time that a formal requisition may come from the Vizier for aid. . . . I shall wish, before it is granted, that a provision had been made for the charge of it. . . . The whole expense ought to be borne by the Vizier."]

27th. The Col. this day made me a present of a very Good Horse. In the evening the Col. received orders from General Barker, dated at Sundee [west of the Ganges, above Cawnpore, in the present Hardoi district], Directing two Battns. of sepoys, with 4 six-pounders, to join him immediately, and the Army to follow with such marches as the Europeans could bear. The order from the Governour and from the General being in direct contradiction to each other left the Col. very disagreeably situated, for one of them *must be disobeyed*, and *which* was the matter to judge, for I do suppose that the Eldest officer in the Army never heard of a similar case. In order therefore to act with as much propriety and caution as possible, he resolved upon assembling the nine Senior officers in the Brigade to consult them.

28th. The following officers assembled: Lt. Col. Goddard, Lt. Col. Upton, Majors Blair, Auchmuty,

and Wear; Captains Briscoe, Bevan, and Edmondson, and the Col. himself made nine. Four were for detaching 2 Battns. and 4 Guns as the General directs, and to Halt the Main Army, and four were for Halting the whole agreeable to the Select Committee's orders, one for marching the whole to Join the General. After this an order was Issued for the 5th and 10th Batns. to march next morning with their own 4 Guns and 4 Six-pounders from the Park, and 45 Bullock loads of ammunition—Lt. Col. Goddard to command.

In the Evening the Col. told me that he was of opinion that the whole army ought to march or none, as the General was about 120 causs off, and dividing so small an army might be attended with much danger; and that sending off a part was disobeying the orders of the Committee as much as if the whole marched. Further, as the General had not in his letter mentioned being in any particular danger, or apprehensive of the Marratoes cutting off the Communication, he came to a resolution of Halting the whole till he heard from the General, and the order of march was immediately countermanded.

30*th*. The Troops are to be Reviewed to-morrow morning by the Col., and Rajah Chetsing comes to see the review. To perform the Manual Exercise and prepare for the Charge and fire two rounds by Grand Divisions Standing and a General Volley. Being apprehensive that the Select Picquet, who had never fired in Brigade before, would spoil the firings, the Col. directed me to write to Captn. Thomson that the Select Picquet were not to fire, but to perform the Motions as Grenadiers only.

31*st*. The troops behaved much to the satisfaction of the Col.

The Col. was not pleased at Major Blair's method of Delivering his report, for he gave him the Parole with his Hat on. I told the Colonel that I believed

it was more owing to forgetfulness than any inclination to disoblige.

[Captain William Thomson, commanding the Select Picquet, remonstrated against the order refusing powder to the cadets, and offered his resignation. Colonel Champion offers this command to Captain Edmonson, who declines it; and Captain Thomson is ordered to retain the command till the General's order shall be obtained.]

April 4th. Col. Goddard waited on the Col. with the proceedings of a court-martial held on a seapoy, who a few days ago complained that an officer [1] beat him most unmercifully when he was his orderly. The officer declared that he did not touch him . . . and the Col. ordered the seapoy to be confined for making a false complaint. But it appeared, on the face of the proceedings, that —— had really beaten the man, on which the Col. sent for —— and told him that it fully appeared that the seapoy's complaint was Just, and that the next complaint of the kind he received against him he would put him in arrest. —— said he would take care to prevent any further representations of that sort, and took leave.

Letters received from the General and Mr Baillie by two Harcarahs, who came all the way from Shawhabad [in Shah Jehanpore] in six and a half days, 145 causs.

5th. The Field officer of the day reported that Several of the Europeans were very ill owing to their getting Drunk with Paria arrack,[2] and they had discovered the man who had sold it to them. The Col. ordered him to be severely punished and Tom-Tom'd round the Bazar and Camp, and all the

[1] It is unnecessary to give the officer's name which appears in the Journal.

[2] Strong drink of an unwholesome kind, such as is drunk by low-caste people.

Cutwals[1] were made prisoners and informed that the first man known to sell arrack within this Bazar would be hanged; and a letter was sent to the Rajah to prevent the Country people from bringing any to camp.

The Col. received a letter from the General directing him to Halt the Brigade agreeable to the orders of the Select Committee, but that he was in hopes that he would soon receive orders to march up the Country.

6*th*. The Col. this day went to Murwaddy, where Captain Smith's bungloe is on the Bank of a very fine large pucka Tank, where we were fishing with Rods the most of the day. It is a very pleasant situation. This evening the Tom-toms were beating about the Camp after dark. The Col. ordered me to write to the Field officer of the day to direct all the Tom-toms to cease beating in the night time. At night Lt. Col. Goddard came to the Col. [and said] that this was the festival of Husine Huscene[2] which the Moor-men held very Religious, and that it was an Indulgence which he had frequently [given] in the face of an Enemy. The Col. reply'd he would not Admit of any more in Camp at night. The Other told him that if he did not there was a great chance of those deserting the service, and soon took leave.

7*th*. I wrote that the Col. had no objection to the Mussulmen beating their Tom-toms, &c., in the night time during their holy days, if Lt. Col. Goddard would order them a mile in the rear.

An order from the General to send all the surplus Guns and Stores to him. Two 6-pounders, 3 Tumblers with ammunition are ordered to proceed by land by the Lucknow Road, and the Store-boats,

[1] Kotwal, a police officer.

[2] The wailings of Muhammadans at the time of the Muharram mourning for Hasan and Husain.

arrived from the Grand Magazine at Patna, to proceed to Cawnpore in care of a Good Gunner, a Subr. [Subadar], and Two Companys of seapoys are to march with them—also a Subaltern of Artillery and 4 Europeans, with a proportion of Lascars, Artificers, &c. Mr Cobham and Mr Brooke, the Paymaster, arrived in camp.

11*th*. Captain Thomson gave in the Following Crime against Ensign Patterson—viz.: Ensign Patterson of the Select Piquet of Gentlemen Cadets put in arrest by me for disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, and behaving with the greatest disrespect to his Commanding Officer on a point of duty. An order arrived from the Commander-in-Chief concerning the refractory conduct of some of the Gentlemen Cadets. A follower of the Camp was brought in prisoner for robbing a lascar of his Turband and going into the Magazine Sergeant's Tent, where he was caught attempting to Rob him. Full proofs being brought, the Col. ordered him to be hanged as an example.

12*th*. The Black prisoner confined for theft was hanged this morning.

13*th*. A letter received from the General recommending the Col. to be looking out for materials for building Temporary Cantonments for the Brigade near Banaris.

15*th*. Intelligence that the King is at Nujibgurr and the Marratoes at Summulpor, Moradabad, about 40 causs N.E. of Nujibgurr.

16*th*. Last night we paid the Raja Chet Sing a visit, and went on his elephants which he sent for us.

The Col. told me that Mr Ford, the Surgeon, had sent him a very improper Letter concerning his not ordering Mr Williams, the Surgeon-major, to give him his share of the Emoluments of the Hospital during the Time Mr W. was absent on leave and Mr F. doing his duty.

17*th*. The Col. went out to fix upon Ground to Build Temporary Cantonments for the Europeans. Orders were issued for the Quarter-master to set about Erecting Mud Walls immediately.

18*th*. The Col. received an order from the General for holding a Seapoy General Court-martial at Rajamaul. It is believed for certain that Mr Harwood, the Supervisor of Rajamaul, wrote to the Chief of the Durbar for a Warrant to hold Seapoy Courts-martial—a most Extraordinary Circumstance that a Factor in the Service should apply for a power which is not granted to Colonels Commanding Brigades.

19*th*. Captain Thomson and Ensign Patterson were ordered to be at Head Quarters this morning. The Col. spoke to Ensign P. as follows : "Mr Patterson, I am sorry to observe to you that it appears, from the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, that you are Guilty of every part of the Charge Exhibited against you. However, as I am not Willing to Distress or ruin any man, you shall be released upon making a proper apology to Captain Thomson, but be assured the first trouble of this kind you occasion will be attended with a very Disagreeable conclusion, for you must recollect that you have been twice in arrest since the middle of January last." Mr Patterson said that he was exceedingly concerned for what had happened, and he was very willing to make an apology to Capt. Thomson, which he accordingly did, and was then released.

21*st*. Lt. Daws, with a Detachment of Europeans, arrived.

25*th*. The Col. had a letter from Capt. Toone that Mr Cartier had Resigned the Chair, and Mr Hastings has been appointed Governour of Bengal, &c., and the Keys of Fort William are delivered to him at the Court House, contrary to the usual form,

which was to walk through the Old Fort to the Water-gate and then deliver them.

[Hastings came from Madras in February 1772 to be a Member of the Bengal Board. On 13th of April he became Governor.]

27th. The orders arrived here this morning appointing Mr Hastings Governor, and directing that 17 Guns be fired and 3 Vollies of Small Arms and the orders for his appointment proclaimed at the Head of the Troops. The Col. issued orders for the Brigade to be under arms at daylight, and 17 Guns to be fired at Sunrise, the Select Picquet and Regiment only to fire 3 Vollies, as there is not Light Cartridges sufficient for the Whole. We supped at Col. Goddard's this evening. I received a letter from Capt. Gowan that Capt. Tolly, who was only at Monghyr as Deputy Barrack-master, wanted to take command of the Garrison from him. He sent to him in the most imperious manner to Demand his instructions, which, of course, Capt. Gowan refused, and sent all the letters passed between them to the Col.

28th. This morning the new Governor was proclaim'd at the head of each Division of the Brigade, and the Artillery and Select Picquet and Regiment fired their respective Salutes, and the Orders were read to each Division. All the papers between Capt. Gowan and Capt. Tolly were sent to the General, and the Col. wrote to both these Gentlemen.

29th. We are informed that the General is building Bungloes at Shawhabad to pass the Rains there. Capt. Harper is returned from the Rohilla Camp. It is expected the King will soon return to Delhi, and the Marratoes are also going Back. Major Morrison is stopped in the Marrato camp from some imprudence and suspected of being a Spye.

30th. The Col. received a letter from the Select

Committee Expressing their Approbation of his Conduct on receiving orders from Mr Cartier to Halt on 26th March, and also that he would receive orders for his future operations from the General. This whole month Very Hot and the Wind extremely hot.

May 3rd. Mr Williams, Surgeon Major, and I went to look at the Old Hospital, but found it an improper place for the Sick.

4th. The Col. directed me to write to Lt. Col. Goddard to issue the Parole for two days as he was going to Chunargur. We set out accordingly in the Evening and got about three coss, where we had tents pitched.

5th. We received many Europe letters which arrived by the Lapwing Packet, and Letters from Calcutta inform us that Messrs Cartier, Alexander, Buckett, and Jekyll are dismissed the Service on account of the Monopoly's of Grain in the time of the famine in the year 70. Received a letter from Capt. Toone acquainting me of his being appointed Aid De Camp to the new Governor. We arrived at Chunargur this morning about 7. This evening we looked round the Works. The Breaches made in the years 64 and 65 are still unrepaired, but the Hill is so very steep and high that it appears no difficult matter to Guard them, and the works of the Fort very strong. From the Heat of the Rocks the Evenings are immensely Hot in the Fort. Capt. Landig, appointed Barrack-master to the Dinapore Cantonments, yesterday passed this place for Allahabad. I sent an Express after him and duplicate in the Evening. The Col. received orders from the General to order Capt. Briscoe's Battn. to their former Station at Buxar, and to have as many Boats as possible ready to carry the Regt. to Dinapore on the shortest notice. I wrote immediately to the Commissary of Boats.

6th. Orders issued for the Hospital to be moved on board of other Boats. We left Chunargur about sunset and got to our Tents about 3 coss off at 8 P.M.

7th. Arrived at Murwaddy before 7. Lt. McDonald arrived 3 days ago with a Detachment of Cadets. Letters inform us that Mahomet Reza Cawn,[1] the acting Nabob, was surrounded in his palace at Murshadabad by Capt. Fenwick and 4 Companies of Seapoys and sent prisoner to the Presidency, the Cause of which is not mentioned.

8th. The Col. received a letter from the General ordering him to send 2 Battns. immediately to Join him . . . the 5th and 10th Battns. were ordered to march tomorrow under Lt. Col. Goddard. The Genl. recommended all possible Expedition in finishing the Barracks for the Europeans, as there was no prospect of their moving down the Country before the Rains, if then. The Col., on this, ordered the Hospital, which was very Large, to proceed to Dinapore.

11th. Capt. Thomson complained that the Cadets were frequently Losing their arms. An order is issued for their paying for them.

12th. The Occurrences of Fort William for April arrive, by which Mr Thomas, Surgeon, gets rank of Messrs Ford, Urquhart, and Simmons and Majors Watson and Sears and Captn. Cooke resign the Service, and Major Morgan is dismissed the Service. Col. Ironside is appointed Military Secretary to the Governor, and Capts. Toone, Robt. Patton, and James Browne Aid De Camps. Mr Stewart is appointed Judge Advocate Genl. Mr Graham takes his seat at the Board.

14th. A letter from the Nabob's Camp: "The King has now quitted the Marratoes and their

[1] The Naib Dewan, or Deputy Chief of Revenue, at Murshidabad. He was called to Calcutta for examination of the revenue accounts.

armies are on the march towards Barelly—35 causs from Shahabad. Sindia, the Marratoe Second in Command, is to confer with Suja Doula at Shah Jahanpore, and it is believed that this motion of their army is intended to favour the terms required by them, both from the Rohillas and Nabob. The latter seems very desirous that the Brigade should be at hand before he comes to a conclusion."

[The Nawab Vizier's negotiations with the Marathas led to no result, and they left Rohilkhand at the beginning of the rainy season (June). On the invitation of Sir R. Barker, Hafiz Rahmat,[1] Zabitakhan, and other Rohilla Chiefs came to Shahabad, and on the 17th of June concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Nawab Wazir. The Wazir bound himself to establish the Rohilla Sardars in their possessions, and to expel the Marathas if they should again enter the Rohilla country; the Rohillas bound themselves to pay to the Wazir 10 lakhs of rupees at once and 30 lakhs in three years for this assistance (Strachey, pp. 53 to 56).]

A letter from the King's camp says that the King has found it will be disagreeable to the Council his entertaining Major Morrison in his service, and, on that account, for some days past had shown him a Coolness.

15*th*. Brigade Order—Lts. Alexander Munro and Stephen Reed of the 1st Battn. and Capt. Edmondson, with Lts. McDonald and Hall of the 2nd Battn., and 6 Gentlemen cadets from the Select Picquet to join Lt. Col. Goddard's Detachment. The Commanding Officer of the Select Piquet will please to name 6 cadets behaving themselves with the Great-

[1] Hafiz Rahmat, at this time the head of the Rohillas, was so called because he had been appointed by his nephew, Ali Mahomed (before the latter's death in 1749), to be Hafiz, or guardian, of his minor sons. Zabita Khan succeeded his father, Najib-ud-Dudlah, who died in 1770, in the possession of Bijnor, the most western district of Rohilkhand (Strachey).

est propriety, adhering as much as possible to Seniority. Ensign Cranstoun to join Capt. Edmondson's Battn.

16*th*. The Rajah visited the Col. this evening. A boy who was grass-cutter to my Writer went to cut grass, when a fakier, under a pretence, took the iron out of the boy's hand and gave him several mortal cuts which fractured his skull in many places. He also cut his throat. Some coolies gave the alarm to others, who pursued the fakier and brought him prisoner and the boy upon a Cot before the Col. Mr Thomas Examined the Wounds and declared several of them to be mortal. The boy was sent to the Hospital and the Delinquent to the Guard.

18*th*. The Col. went to sup at Col. Upton's and remarked that Major Blair, who was Field officer of the day, was there without his Coat and his Gorget.

19*th*. The boy mentioned the 16th is dead, and the Murderer hanged this morning. Orders from the General to send 4 Guns to join Col. Goddard, and give Major Ragall the command if he chose to go. I wrote him, and he answered that his bad state would not admit of his moving. Mr Duckworth, Surgeon assistant, to march with this detachment, and Lt. Mackenzie, with 2 Companies of the 17th Battn., to escort the Guns.

20*th*. Orders this day for all officers upon duty to appear Sash'd.

21*st*. Mr Aspinall, Assistant surgeon, ordered to proceed instead of Mr Duckworth, sick and unfit. The weather has been exceeding hot.

22*nd*. The sick, who are not likely to recover soon, are ordered to embark for Dinapore under charge of Mr Duckworth.

24*th*. Capt. Maverley, with 8 Gentlemen Cadets, joined from the Presidency. The Thermometer

was at 100° when we were at Dinner, notwithstanding the purdahs were kept wet constantly, and at 4 ocl. at 104; and in Mr Thomas's Tent, which is under very large trees, which entirely cover it from the Sun, it was 108. A Sergeant of each Battn. of the Regiment dropped down dead this afternoon, who were not sick 5 minutes before their death.

25*th*. This afternoon Ensign Haven, who was a very stout hearty man, died after a few minutes' illness in a pucka fever. The Col. wrote to the Rajah about bamboos for the men's barracks, and represented the great number of men who are daily falling sick.

27*th*. Order issued to Comg. officers to prevent their men, as much as possible, from eating green mangoes and Exposing themselves to the Sun.

28*th*. Lt. Col. Wilding appointed to the Command of Chunargur.

31*st*. Last night Mr Sayer, a Gentleman Cadet, went to Bed in perfect health, but was taken ill with a pucka fever in the night and died before daylight. Mr Lloyd, supervisor of the Budgepore [Bhojpur] District, gave in damages of 80,000 Rs. done by the Brigade during our march through that district, which was only from 11th to 16th March. The man whom Rajah Shitab Roy sent with the Col. to represent all grievances never once complained, and returned from Buxar to all appearance thoroughly satisfied. We never came to our Ground, but what seapoys were sent to every Village for their protection.

June 2nd. The Colonel recevied orders from the General to embark the Regiment for Dinapore on account of the great number daily falling sick and several dying, but to send the Heavy Artillery to Chunargur. Orders were issued for the 1st Battn. of the Regiment to embark on Thursday, and the Second Battalion, with a Subaltern of Artillery

and all the men who could be spared from the Guns, to embark on Friday—a Company of Sepoys to Embark with each Battalion. The Third Battn. of Sepoys and Artillery are ordered to Cross the river to-morrow and march by land to Dinapore. The officers are desired to send by Land all the Baggage they do not want with them. Major Auchmuty being sick, Captain Popham is to Command the Detachment going by Land. The Rajah paid the Colonel a visit this evening.

3rd. This evening the Colonel went to visit the Rajah. We carried Wine and some Cold Meat and stay'd seeing a Notch [Nàch-a dance] till after Supper.

This morning Mr Porter, Gentleman Cadet, died.

4th. The Col. sent all his Baggage on board and went to Captain Smith's house at Banaris. The 1st Battn. of the Regiment Embarked at Raj Gautt.

5th. The Artillery and 3rd Battn. ordered to march for Dinapore and Chunargur. New regulations for the different stations of the Army arrived this day; the European Troop and the 3 Troops of Black cavalry are ordered to be Re-form'd.

6th. The Select Piquet, the 2nd Battn., and the Artillery Embark'd. The Col. and his family set out this morning at Daylight. Came to at 7 oclock two Causs above the Gumptey.

9th. Passed Gauzipore. We had a supply of geese, greens, and mangoes this afternoon from Bankipore.

10*th.* Came to Capt. Briscoe's bungalow [at Buxar] and supp'd with him.

12*th.* We passed some Budgerows and boats of the 1st Battn. scattered about the sands. The Colonel expressed his displeasure at Major Wear's not keeping the Battn. together.

14*th.* We came to this evening a little below Choppra.

[The Journal ends, apparently with arrival at Dinapore.]

CHAPTER VII.

MARCHES FROM DINAPORE TO OUDH, ROHILKHAND, AND BACK TO JUANPORE AND BY BOAT TO CALCUTTA: DECEMBER 1772 TO 24TH OCTOBER 1773.

Colonel Champion's and Captain Macpherson's Journals. March from Dinapore to Oudh and Rohilkhand, December 1772, to support the Wazir against the Marathas. Conduct of the Gentlemen Cadets. Meeting with the Nawab Wazir, Shuja-ud-Daula, near Faizabad, 1st January 1773. Description of Faizabad, Lucknow, Cawnpore. Orders for fortification of Allahabad against the Marathas. Letters to and from Warren Hastings about the defence of the Province of Kora. The Nawab Wazir's claim to Kora and Allahabad. Nawab Manir-ud-Daula. Sir Robert Barker joins the Force, 5th March. Ramghat. Exchange of shots with the Marathas. Halt between Karimbhans and Anupshahr, 30th May to 12th June. News from the Maratha camp. Najif Khan visits the General. Bisauli. Aulah, Kattera. Shahjehanpur, Sundi, Lucknow. The troops halt near Husainpur and at Sultanpur, 17th June to September. Great heat and sickness at the end of May and beginning of June. Jury of matrons to examine a woman prisoner. Execution of a European soldier for desertion. A title sent by the Emperor Shah Alam to Colonel Champion. Colonel Champion and Captain Macpherson go by boat to Juanpore and then by palanquin to Benares, 26th August, to meet the Governor, who is transacting business there with the Wazir. The Governor goes to Chunargarh, 12th September, and he and General Barker go "down the country" on 13th. The troops march from Sultanpur on 15th, and arrive at Juanpore, where they embark in boats. Floods of the Gumti. Colonel Champion arrives at Dinapore by boat on 1st October, and the troops some days later. The 2nd Battalion goes on to Berhampore and the 1st to the Presidency, where Colonel Champion and his staff arrive on 24th October 1773.

[JOURNAL resumed 3rd December 1772. Two journals are kept, one in the name of Colonel Champion.]

Capt. Macpherson's Journal.

1772. *Dec. 3rd.* [At Dinapore.] The Col. received orders to march the Brigade under his command to the Province of Oudh to assist Sujah-Dowla in protecting his dominions.

[In July the Marathas had demanded of the Wazir of Oudh that he should cede to them the Provinces of Kora, Allahabad, and Benares, and deliver into their hands the settlement he had made with the Rohillas; also that he would discharge all sums for which the King now stood indebted to him, and unite with them against every opponent. On receiving this summons the Wazir wrote to Hastings for assistance; and on 23rd July Hastings assured him that the English would join to the utmost of their power in the defence of his territory, but that without authority from the Company he could not allow their troops to go beyond the Wazir's frontier, or engage in an offensive war with the Marathas. Hastings at the same time wrote to the Maratha Chiefs in Northern India expressing extreme dissatisfaction at their hostile appearance . . . towards the Wazir, and stating that the English considered themselves bound by treaty to defend his territories against every invader (Strachey, p. 65).]

Dec. 4th. Orders Issued for the Brigade to march.

5th. Marched at 5 ocl. and arrived at 9, a causs to the S.W. of Munia on the Sone. Distance marched, 6 causs.

6th. The Artillery and six Companies of seapoys marched at 5 ocl. and arrived at 9 at Saydabad, 6½ causs. The Select Picquet, Regiment, and 4th Battn. halt at Munia. The Col. came with Front Division and Lt. Col. Upton commands the rear. Good Ground and road Good.

7th. Marched at 4.30, 7½ causs to Irvill [Arwal ?] on the Sone. Good ground and wells. Road in general good.

8th. Front Division halted at Irvill. Killed four wild hogs.

9th. Marched at 5 A.M., arrived 10 A.M. at Shumsheernagur—7½ causs.

10th. Crossed the Sone at Midewa at a Ford above the Gautt. The Rear Division encamped about a causs from Palijah.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

11th. Halted at Midewa. Capt. Thomson reported to me the Refractory behaviour of many of the Gentlemen in the Select Picquet, in consequence of which I issued the following Order—viz.: "The Indulgence which the Col. has been pleased to Grant to the Gentlemen Cadets of riding their Horses on the line of march was meant for the preservation of their health only, and which indulgence must be according to the Rules of a Line of March and at the discretion of their Commanding officer. They are on no Account to separate themselves, but to keep in a body together as much as possible in Order to be ready at a moment's warning to dismount and form. Such Gentlemen Cadets who think it a hardship to conform to Military Order, and will not act with a proper Subordination to their Superiors, are desired to send their names to the Major of Brigade and they shall have permission to proceed immediately to the Presidency, and the Col. will take care that a proper representation is made to the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Cause of their Quitting the Army. The Gentleman Cadet who is now under Arrest for having acted in a contemptuous manner to his Commanding Officer on the Line of March, and whose Conduct tended much to inflame the minds of the Gentlemen of that Corps, is ordered to continue to hold himself in readiness to proceed to the Presidency on the Brigade's arrival at Benares."

12th. The Brigade marched at 5 in the following

order: Select Picquet in Front, Regiment, the 6 Companies of Sepoys, Artillery, 4th Battn. of Sepoys. Came to their ground at Rampore at 10.30.—7½ good coss from Medwa Gaut. Road for the most part good.

13*th*. Marched at 5 to about a mile W. of the town of Sassaram. Arrived at 8.30—4½ coss.

[*Captain Macpherson notes:* Plenty of good water. The remains of several ancient buildings are to be seen in this Town, and two Remarkable large Mosques.]

14*th*. To Coramabad, 6 coss. 15*th*. To Mutawan, 5¾ coss. 16*th*. To Dhanoulychokey, 7 coss.

17*th*. Marched at 5 by the left. Crossed the Carumnassa and breakfasted at Sydrajah, 5 coss, where the Brigade is to encamp as I am very desirous of settling several matters with Chait Sing.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

17*th*. The Col. and family went on 3 causs to Jagdicipore where the Raja's vakeel met us.

18*th*. Went on to Banares at daylight. The Raja met us near Mogull Srai and showed every mark of Esteem and happiness at seeing the Col., and accompanied him to Rajgautt. In the afternoon crossed the Ganges and encamped at Murwaddy, about a causs to the W. of Banares. In the evening the Raja sent the Col. some fruit, &c.

[*Colonel Champion adds:* Arrived at the Factory House about 10. Capt. Briscoe fired a salute from his encampment, and came over to see me.]

19*th*. The Troops marched this morning to Mogull Surai. Lt. Col. Wilding came from Chunargur to

see the Col. This evening the Raja came to visit the Col. and promised to supply Camels and Hackarys.

20*th*. The Brigade crossed the Ganges, marched through Banaris, and encamped on their old ground about a causs from the town.

21*st*. Bijiram, Haussen Sing, and two more came to the Col. He sent me to speak to them. I soon discovered an extraordinary piece of Villainy which was committed by Collichurn, Capt. Smith's Sircar, and settled the Circumstance, which gave the Col. offence. He then received a visit from the above gentlemen, promised to visit the Raja in the evening—which was accordingly done.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

Brigade Order: "Capt. Toone, A.D.C. to the Hon. Warren Hastings, having obtained his permission to serve with the 1st Brigade during the campaign, Col. Champion directs that all orders issued through him shall be obeyed." I wrote to the Governor acknowledging Receipt of his letter by the hands of Capt. Toone, and that it would afford me a particular pleasure to render him any Service in my power.

22*nd*. I received a letter from His Excellency the Nawab of Oudh, requesting I would join him with all Expedition.

23*rd*. The Brigade marched by the Right in the following order: Select Picquet, Regiment, 4th Battn. of Sepoys, the 5 Companies of the 5th and 10th Battns., with the Guns of the 3rd Battn., the Artillery, 17th Battn. of Sepoys. Marched 4½ coss from the old camp to near Jamekeserai.

24*th*. Marched 4 coss to Poolpore. 29 sick Europeans were sent back to the boats. About 2½ coss from Jame Keserai is Pilory Killa, a strong

place with Bastions, a Broad Mott [? moat], a fausbrai and glacis.

25*th*. Halted. Christmas Day. Letter of 23rd from Capt. Harper acquainting me that the King had been defeated.

[The Marathas, led by the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief, Visaji Kishen, and Tukaji Holkar, defeated the Emperor's troops under Najif Khan on 19th December near Delhi, restored Zabita Khan Rohilla to the office of Minister, and required the Emperor to cede to them the Provinces of Kora and Karra, which had been assigned to him in 1765. (Duff, Vol. ii. p. 252.)]

I wrote to Captn. Harper: "I will lose no time in joining the Vizier at any place or time he pleases. I shall bring with me a Battn. of sepoys and 4 Guns in Advance. I am confident from the late success of these Chaps we ought to unite and march to the Frontiers, &c."

26*th*. The Brigade marched by the left to Zaffrabad, 6 coss.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

The Fouzdar of Joanpore came to pay his respects to the Col.

27*th*. Marched to Buxa, 7 causs. A letter from Suja Dowla to request the Col. would use all possible expedition and afford all protection in his power to the Inhabitants.

28*th*. Marched to Singramow, 8 causs. The Col. and family, with the 17th Battn. of Seapoys and 4 Guns, went on 3½ causs further. Command of the troops was left to Col. Upton.

29*th*. The Col. with the 17th Battn. marched to Pappergaut, which has a large mud fort, and after breakfasting pushed on to Puckerauly, 8 causs.

[*Colonel Champion's Journal says* "10 causs."]

30*th*. Marched at 4 and crossed the Gumpty at daylight over a bridge of boats at Sultanpore, a large town commanded by a Fouzdar. Arrived at Bissuanulla, 11 coss. Capt. Conway came from Faizabad.

31*st*. Marched to Budersaw, 4 causs. Capt. Harper came out this afternoon and acquainted the Col. that the Nabob would meet him in the morning.

1773. *Janry*. 1*st*. Marched at 6. The Nabob Shuja ul dowla came out and met the Col. about 3 coss from Faizabad. He alighted from his Elephant and embraced the Col. and then both went into the howder together, and Capt. Harper went upon another elephant. The Nabob's swary consisted of a Battn. of Seapoys, two Troops of Cavalry, and a great number of other Horsemen. Upon our approaching near the Town about 100 jinjal [1] pieces fired from the back of camels.

[*Colonel Champion's Journal says :* "A prodigious Retinue of Horse and Foot, with 3 or 4 Hundred Cammels carrying Ginjall [1] Pieces on their backs, firing as fast as they could."]

We marched through the Town, which has a mud Wall round it but not fortified. The Street through which we went is broad, but the Houses very indifferent. The Palace is upon the bank of the Dewa, or Guggerah, which overflows so much in the rains that it will probably carry away the palace in a few years. The Nabob is building a Strong mud Fort, the Walls of which are 60 feet thick. We stay'd at the Nabob's Palace about an hour and then went to the old Cantonments, to Capt. Harper's, a mile to the W. of the Town, and here we pitched our tents. Col. Champion wrote

[1] A swivel gun. Connected with the word "jezail."—Hobson Jobson.

to the Governor: "I already find there will be great difficulty in getting money from the Vizier for the Payment of our Extra Charges." Also to the Paymaster, Mr Brooke, to bring to Faizabad an estimate of Extra Charges attending a Brigade out of the Provinces, calculated under different heads, such as Regiment so much, a Battn. of Sepoys, Artillery, Hospital, Contingencies, &c.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

2nd. I went to see His Excellency with my Family. He made me a present of a curious gun. Dancing girls in readiness for a notch, but we did not stay long.

3rd. His Excellency returned my Visit and Breakfasted with me. *Capt. Macpherson writes:* "Salutes of 17 guns were fired on his entering and leaving the Col.'s tent; the 17th Battn. were under arms, the officers saluted, the men presented arms, and the drummers beat a march. The Col. and family went with the Nabob to see the new Fort. The Walls are so well beat that the Elephants made no impression with their feet: 40,000 people are employed daily to complete it."

Colonel Champion's Journal.

I wrote to Grant requesting he will please purchase some curiosities fit to present to the Vizier, Elegant in their way, the Amount not to Exceed 8000 Rs. Fire-arms or Horse Furniture in the Eastern taste will be the most proper.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

Capt. Toone took charge of the Persian correspondence this day.

4*th*. Marched from Faizabad at Daylight. The Nabob Marched in our rear. Upon arrival at Nurai, 5 causs, where his Army is Encamped, we stopped till he came up, after which the Nabob requested of the Col. to look at his Troops. Upon our coming near the Line the Guns began to fire, and continued to fire till we were passed almost all the Line. There are in all 12 Battns. armed and clothed the same as ours, and Look Extremely well indeed.

Colonel Champion writes : I rode along the Line with the Vizier and his two Sons and Reviewed his Troops, which cutt a fine appearance, after which the Vizier politely accompanied us to our ground.

Captain Macpherson writes : 5*th*. Halted. The Col. and Capt. Harper went to the Nabob's.

6*th*. The Col. sent Capt. Harper to introduce Capt. Toone and myself to the Nabob, and acquainted him that such messages as should be delivered by either of us were to be considered as from the Col.

7*th*. Marched to Birackaserai, 9½ causs.

8*th*. Marched to Noorgunge, 8½ causs.

Colonel Champion writes : There are obeliskques, or stones, at every coss. At Busantgunge, which is walled round with Bastions, is a Beautiful House and Garden, entirely new, named after Cojah Bussun, the Vizier's General.

9*th*. Marched to Alapore Kirouly, 8½ coss. Passed three Handsome Bridges over Nullahs. Col. Goddard came to meet us.

Captain Macpherson writes : 10*th*. To Lucknow 8½ causs. At Saperagautt we found very fine Boats, each of them large enough to carry a Gun. When we came near, the 5th and 10th Battns. turned out without arms and fired a salute for the Colonel of 13 Guns. After a few minutes' stay at Col. Goddard's Tent we went to look at the Palace, which is an immense heap of Building with a zinnana

large enough for 500 women. Lt. Col. Upton, with the Army, arrived near Jellalabad.

11*th*. The 5th and 10th Battns. joined the Army.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

12*th*. Camp near Lucknow. Halted. I appointed Capt. Toone to act as Qr. Mr. Gen. till further orders.

15*th*. By Intelligence received from His Excellency, the Maharattas intend marching downwards and he will leave Faizabad immediately. Both Parties talk big, time will show what they will do. Wrote to Mr Hastings requesting his Instructions on what points I am to address the Select Committee, or the Members of the Council, on Publick business, being apprehensive from an Imperfect knowledge of these matters I may commit an Error.

16*th*. The Brigade marched to Mohun, 7 to 8 coss. 17*th*. Recd. a Letter from Captn. Brooke, who is at Patna, raising a Corps of Light Infantry.

22*nd*. News from Delhi, dated 16th inst., that part of the Maharatta Horse have crossed the Jumna.

24*th*. The Rain continued all night violent. Was obliged this morning to Shift my Ground as it was ancle deep in my Tents. The Cold is so severe that I feel much for the Troops. 25*th*. The General writes that it is the Administration's Intention to defend Korah and Allahabad.

26*th*. Received a Letter from the Select Committee [to the same effect]. I wrote to the Governor and to the General that Sindia is now plundering the country about Rowarye, and has declared his Intentions of retiring from the other Chiefs. I wrote to Lt. Bruce at Allahabad, to Exert himself in putting the Garrison in the best posture of defence in his power. He will receive orders from the

Nabob for throwing down 1000 yards of the Bazar adjacent to the Walls for an Esplanade. An Entrenchment must also be thrown up round the Fort by way of Ditch to prevent any attempt of mining the walls.

Captain Macpherson writes: 27th. The whole army under arms at 8 ocl. to be seen by the Nabob.

The Col. and family went to meet him about a causs and half from camp, but we were obliged to wait for him till 10 ocl., when he arrived with a very large Swary. When he came in upon the Right of the Line a Salute of 19 Guns was fired.

28*th*. His Excellency breakfasted with me. Had a long conference with him.

[Colonel Champion writes to the Governor and to the General as to the Vizier's intention to cross the Ganges and act against the Marathas: "should they enter the Corah and Currah Provinces. On being asked if he esteemed that country his own, he answered that he did, as the King had quitted it without any permission. . . . The Vizier mentioned that Nudjif Cawn has made proposals of joining him on drawing near to our Army, and that Mr Madox [1] with his detachments had also offered to come in to him, for he was afraid of being apprehended by us. As I am informed that the Administration have long since issued their pardon to the man, I told him that I could have no objection under the circumstances."]

29*th*. The Army marched to Salargunge, 7 coss.

[Colonel Champion wrote to the President and Members

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1 "Mr Madox" was, no doubt, the Frenchman René Madoc mentioned by Duff, Vol. ii. p. 252, as "one of the earliest of those European adventurers who rose to consequence in the service of the Native States." After service in the French forces on the Coromandel Coast he was taken prisoner by the English, and with many of his companions joined the company's army in Bengal. After the fighting near Patna in 1763 he led a mutiny, and detached about 200 men, Europeans and sepoys, and became a guerilla leader.

of the Select Committee as follows: "Gentlemen, I had the Honour to address you yesterday acquainting you with my having communicated to His Excellency the Orders which I had received from you dated 15th Nov. and 9th inst.; but the great desire I had of transmitting his designs without loss of time prevented my paying that attention to the translation of his words which I ought to have done, and shall in future be more attentive to. When he was asked if he considered the Provinces of Corah and Allahabad as part of his Dominions, he replied that the World knew these Provinces belonged to him, that the English were pleased to cede them to the King for part of his support, with which he was satisfied. But as His Majesty had without his knowledge or Concurrence bestowed them on the Maharattas, he was determined, by force of arms, to prevent their taking possession of these Countries. He further added the Maharattas had the King in their power, and may on some future Occasion prevail on him to cede the Province of Oude and Bengal. Would the English or myself pay any attention to His Majesty's Sunnuds? His Excellency also observed that should the Maharattas obtain possession of Corah and Allahabad, he would be obliged to keep up a Numerous Army, and even then would not be able to prevent their making frequent Incursions into his Country, that success would make them bold, and even the English would find them troublesome Neighbours. He talked much of his Affection and steady friendship for the English, and observed that his strict alliance with them rendered him hateful to all the powers of Indostan."]

Capt. Burnet of the Artillery joined this evening.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

30*th*. Marched to Innawy, 5 causs.

31*st*. Marched to Siria, near the Ganges opposite Cawnpore, 4 causs.

February 1*st*. Lt. Col. Upton is ordered to take command of the Garrison at Allahabad [which, including the Nabob's forces, was to be 3000 strong]. Lt. Smith and Mr Wilson go with him. Munier ul

Dowla [1] paid the Col. a visit yesterday. The Nabob Vizier and army arrived this day.

2nd. The Col. went to visit Munier ul Dowla in the Lines at Cawnpore. Capt. Toone and myself attended him.

3rd. Strict orders are issued forbidding Cattle to be permitted to go into the Cornfields. Col. Champion writes: "The Vizier sent me a present of 3 Horses, but they were such Vilanous ones I returned them to His Excellency, directing the Messenger to inform him I have plenty of Horses, and that they and everything in Camp are at his Service."

4th. Capt. Wroe, Ensigns Wetherston and Bremner and Mr Mair, Asst. Surgeon, are ordered to Allahabad with one of the Nabob's Battns. Intelligence that 50,000 Sicks [Sikhs] are on their march towards Delhi.

Colonel Champion writes : 5th. Advised the Select Committee that by letters from Delhi the two Maharatta Chiefs, Tucogee Houlkar and Bysagee, had marched to the eastward of Delhi, and despatched Akber Ally Cawn to His Excellency and Myneer ul Dowla to settle about delivering up the Provinces of Corah, &c., declaring they had no Intention to Commence Hostilities against the Vizier, and hope he will not prevent their taking possession.

Captain Macpherson writes : Feb. 8th. The Col. had a visit from the Vizier, after which we went to Cawnpore and crossed over the bridge which was formed of 57 boats. We also paid Muneir ul Dowla a visit.

[Colonel Champion writes to the Select Committee: "The Vizier came to the Resolution yesterday evening of sending

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[1] Manir-ud-Daula was Shah Alam's Viceroy of Allahabad and Kora.

15,000 horse over the Ganges to lay waste the Country of the Maharattas for 20 coss westward of Corah." He had tried to dissuade him from this step.][1]

9*th*. The Col. had the whole Brigade out in order of Battle, and performed several new Manœuvres Established by the General.

10*th*. The Select Picquet is ordered to form in future on the Right of the Regt., and to act as a Right Company of Grenadiers.

[Colonel Champion writes to the Select Committee: "The Maharattas are on their march towards us, and were on the 8th inst. at Jahangurapore. I intend to march for Sandee on the 13th. His Excellency has received repeated assurances from Zabita Khan that he will not act against him; and Nuziff Cawn and Haffiz Rahmut Cawn declare their intentions of joining him. Also Muzaffer Jung (of Farakhabad) has a force ready to join: he is collecting boats to throw a bridge across the Ganges near to Furruckabad." A letter is received from the General disapproving the appointment of Capt. Toone to be Q.M.G. Colonel Champion writes: "I answered this letter . . . that my appointing Capt. Toone to act as Q.M.G. was chiefly done in consequence of a letter received from Mr Hastings, wherein he observes that he has granted him permission to join the 1st Brigade, and it would give him great pleasure to concur with me in any measure for his interest when it did not interfere with the right of any other person."]

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

12*th*. The Army was out this morning in order of Battle. The Vizier was out to see our performance and was much pleased. The Marattoe Vakeel was out with him, and after the day was over the Nabob asked him how he liked it, and

[1] Letter to Hastings, of 8th February 1773, given in full in Col. C.'s journal.

desired he would send a particular account of the Whole to the Marattoe Chiefs. The Nabob stay'd to Breakfast at the Col.'s Tent and drunk tea and ate Toasted Bread and Butter. Capt. Conway joined.

Colonel Champion writes : " Received advice from the Westward that the Maharattas intend being at Ramgaut the 15th. Zabita Cawn wrote to Haffiz Rahmat Cawn that if he had the least spirit of a Soldier, he will join His Excellency and our Troops. Addressed the Select Committee on this subject."

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

13*th.* The Army marched by the right at 4.30 and arrived at Sophypore at 10 ocl., 7 causs.

The Col. received a letter from the Governor disapproving of his having appointed Capt. Toone to act as Qr. Mr. Gl., as it was creating a post of too much consequence without the authority of the Board. It is clear the Governor did not consider that it is the Standing custom of the Service when any of the Staff officers are absent to appoint another to do their duty. Capt. Fullarton, Qr. Mr. Gl., is at Calcutta.

[Colonel Champion notes : " I received a letter from Mr Hastings expressing his repugnance to the admission of the Vizier's Troops within the Limits of my Encampment. Mr Hastings says : 'I here repeat my entire disapprobation of such a measure. Could we assist in putting his Cavalry in a formidable condition, I should be pleased with the opportunity, but his Sepoys, with respect to us, are better as they are.' " He also notes the Governor's disapproval of the appointment of Captain Toone to be Q.M.G.]

News from Ferouckabad that the Marattoes intend to divide their army, one division to cross the

Ganges near Banzbirrilly and the other to march towards Ferouckabad.

Feby. 14*th.* Marched by the left to Bangermow, 8 causs. 15*th.* March'd to Parrira, 8 causs. News from Ferouckabad that Moozaffer Jung Nabob is getting his army ready. It is said that the Marratta Army, under Tucojee and Pessuajee, arrived at Secundra on 15th Zikaad, or 8th Febry., which is 29 causs E. of Delhi.

16*th.* March'd to about a causs to the N.W. of Sundee. Encamped on a plain about 2 Causs long, with the Gurrah in front. Dry sandy ground.

Colonel Champion writes : 17*th.* I received letters from Mr Hastings and the General informing me that it has been resolved to oppose the Maharattas should they attempt to enter the Cora Province, and that it will be left to my discretion to cross the river with the whole, or such part, of the Brigade as I may judge necessary. This morning the Nabob, with his army, encamped near the left of our line. I delivered to the Vizier letters for him from Mr Hastings and the General to the same purpose; and he discovered the most Extravagant signs of joy, saying all now was our own, such dependence he puts in our Force. He returned to his Camp and though the Sun was set, he fired all his Cannon. The General will leave the Presidency in 4 or 5 days and join the Army with the utmost Expedition. By the last Advices from the Marathas they were still at Ramgaut [Capt. Macpherson notes "50 Coss West of Ferouckabad"], and had written to the King to join them, or send one of his Sons, and that they are determined to march towards Furruckabad. Muzaffer Jung has thrown a bridge across the Ganges near Furruckabad, and is ready to join the Vizier with a large force. Zabidy Cawn and Nuzif Cawn, with their Troops, are encamp'd to the W. of the Marrathas upon the banks of the Ganges. The

Marratoes have a body of Pindarahs [1] plundering the Country round Soorampore. Haffiz Rahomid Cawn, Chief of the Rohillas, has march'd from Banz Birrelly to Nucktia Nulla about 8 causs to the W.

18*th*. *Colonel Champion writes:* "Received a letter which I apprehend is from the Board, but it has no signature and is of so extraordinary a nature that I shall insert the whole of it:—

"To Col. Alexander Champion, Commanding the 1st Brigade,—Sir, The Hon. the President and Council having judged it expedient to enter into immediate measures for the defence of the Provinces of Corah and Currah against the attempts of the Maharattas, I have it in command from the Hon. Board to signify their Orders to you, that you immediately Concert with the Vizier the proper measures for effecting this purpose, and if you should mutually think it advisable, that you cross the River at Allahabad, either with the whole Brigade under your Command, or such part of it as you shall deem necessary for the service required. You are on no account or provocation whatever to pass the Boundaries of those Provinces of Corah and Kurrah without the further Orders of the Board, but confine your operations Solely to their Defence. Fort William, 1st Feb. 1773."

The Nabob was much surprised and dissatisfied with the Contents of a Letter so very different from what he had reason to expect from the Governor's last letter to him, and was as much Cast down as he was before Elated.

19*th*. I wrote to Mr Hastings a long letter setting forth . . . that when I communicated the contents of the Board's letter to the Vizier he seemed greatly surprised, and said he had flattered himself much

[1] Camp followers, marauders, often in large bands, generally mounted.

from the letter which he received the preceding day that the Board intended to support him Effectually, by permitting our Troops to cross the Ganges in Conjunction with him. He had entered into a solemn league with Muzaffir Jung [of Farakhabad] to support him against the Maharattas, and that Muzaffir Jung had consented to the Vizier's Troops taking possession of the Bridge which he had thrown over the Ganges, and that 5000 men march'd yesterday morning to take possession of it. . . . His Excellency is determined to adhere to his League with Muzaffir Jung, and wants me to march the Army nearer to Furruckabad to convince Muzuffir Jung and Haffiz Rahmut Cawn that he is Serious. . . . The latter is wavering which side to take. . . . The Vizier is collecting boats to throw a bridge over the Gumberia, which is not fordable in the dryest seasons. . . . 5000 Maharattas have crossed the Jumna at Culpee, but the main Body is still at Ramgaut."

Yesterday a detachment of Recruits arrived under command of Capt. James Scott.

20*th February*. His Excellency breakfasted with me, after which he entertained me with the dexterity of the Mogulls, riding full speed, discharging their matchlocks at a spear with a little bit of cloth fixed thereto, and throwing their Lances, which they are very expert at. He and his sons performed with great strength and agility.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

21*st*. Two Comps. of seapoys and the Troop of cavalry march'd to Perrira to meet the General. Lt. John Scott arrived with some Cadets and recovered men and 5 Recruits.

[Col. Champion receives from Lt. Bruce a plan of the Fort of Allahabad, and a report of the additional

works and alterations he is carrying on. The Col. writes approving and directing him to clear away the town near the Fort to prevent cover being left for the enemy within point-blank shot. . . . As for the Mosque he will speak to His Excellency.]

22*nd. A letter to Colonel Champion from Mr Hastings:* "Fort William, Feb. 4th, 1773.—Sir, I have already advised you of the resolution of the Board to defend the Province of Corah. You will receive a letter from the Secy. of the Council with orders to that purpose. Enclosed is a letter to the Vizier repeating this resolution and desiring to pay the Arrears of the last Expedition and to grant an assignment on the Zemindary of Gazipore, or some other Equivalent fund, for the charges of this. I have declared to him that no money could be sent out of these Provinces for Foreign Enterprizes, and have very plainly intimated to him that tho' the Service should be defeated and the Brigade returned for want of money, it will not be supplied from hence. This is a point in which I must entreat you to Exert your Influence with the Vizier. I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant, Warren Hastings."

Colonel Champion replies: "To the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esqre., President and Governor of Fort William, &c.—Sir, I have been honoured with your letter of the 4th, with the enclosed for His Excellency, which was delivered to him, and in answer thereto he expressed great surprize, observing that he had wrote to you 2 months ago on the subject, and before the General left him he had adjusted all accounts with him for the last Campaign, when there was a Balance due to the Administration of 2 lack 74,874 Rs., and that he wrote to the General to pay the Amount for him in Novbr. last, for which he would give him Credit. He observes there is a Balance due to him, but he is extremely ready to advance any money which the troops may require

at this time. By letters dated 21st from the Maharatta Camp they were then lying at Ramgaut, but they have sent their heavy Baggage and part of their Artillery to their Fort Ettawa on the Bank of the Jumna. His Excy. seems to decline from his Intention of Crossing his Army at Furruckabad, and the Bridge is again to be formed at Cawnpore for crossing the Troops should the Enemy attempt to take possession of these Provinces. I have the honour to remain, with the utmost respect, Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble Servant, A. Champion.—Camp near Sundee, Feb. 22nd, 1773."

Febry. 23*rd*. *Colonel Champion writes to Mr Hastings:* "I have been with His Excy. and particularly mentioned to him the Arrears due on account of the 1st Brigade being in the Field last year. He replied it was true he desired the Troops to come into his Country, but he did not see he was subject to any Extraordinary Expense after the Board had sent them Orders not to proceed. He was extremely willing to advance any money monthly for the Troops present, and he hoped at the end of the Campaign to have the pleasure of seeing you, when everything should be settled to your satisfaction. . . ."

24*th*. The Army marched by the left to Dumnapore, 6 coss.

25*th*. Halted. I received the following letter from the Governor, dated 10th inst.: "Sir, The Nabob, Moneer-ud-Dowla, will take an opportunity to wait upon you, perhaps before the Receipt of this. It is my desire you should pay attention to such proposals or representations as he may offer on the service you are engaged in, and to act in concert with him, as far as may be consistent with the Instructions you are directed to proceed by. In the conduct of your operations you may find his advice and intelligence of essential use, but I could wish, at the same time, that every conspicuous

show of Confidence and open appearance of advising with him may be avoided to prevent giving unnecessary umbrage to the Vizier, whose jealousy might otherwise be excited. I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant, Warren Hastings."

26th. I wrote to the Governor that due attention would be paid to his instructions, and that a letter for His Excy., thro' Mr Goodlad, had been delivered.

Feb. 27th. This morning the Vizier breakfasted with me and mentioned that complaints had been made to him and Moneer-ud-Daulah that Col. Upton had refused to permit Gopal Pundit, with about 200 other Mahrattas, to wash in the Ganges; as also about 100 from Guzerat without they pay a Customary Duty. As these are a particular set of people who do not pay, he desired me to write to Col. Upton to grant these people his leave, and I accordingly did, and desired Col. Upton to address the Vizier and Moneer-ud-Daulah and acquaint them he had complied with their request.

Feb. 28th. Received certain accounts that Zabita Cawn, with Doder Mulheer, who directs the Mahratta Councils, were despatched the 26th inst. with 2000 horse on an Embassy to Hafiz Rahmat Cawn, whom they expect to bring over to their Interests, and to obtain a Sum of Money from him. The main body of Mahrattas are still at Ramgaut.

1st March. Camp near Dumnapora. The General [Sir Robert Barker] expected.

3rd March. This morning at Gunfire I set out with my family to the bank of the Ganges where my Tent was pitched opposite Farruckabad in order to pay a visit to Muzaffer Jung, who was Introduced to me by Suja Dowla. This visit is meant to convince him that the English and the Vizier are in perfect amity, but chiefly to gain over this Omrah[1] to the Nabob's interest.

[1] Noble.

4th. The Army marched to Ghouria. Riding out this evening I observed that in front of the 3rd Battn. there was a number of Tattoes, Huts, &c., contrary to Express and repeated Orders. I directed Captn. Macpherson to write to Col. Goddard and desire him to send for and reprimand the Officer Commdg. the 3rd Battn., and to assure him that in case I have occasion to find fault with him again for such neglect he should hear of it in a more public manner.

5th. This morning I set out to meet the General, and about 11 A.M. he arrived in Camp.

7th. The Army marched to opposite Hussinapore, 4½ coss. Crossed a Bridge of Boats over the Gamberia. I went with the General and Family to reconnoitre the Bridge thrown over the Ganges by Muzaffir Jung, crossed it, and went into Hussinapore Fort, where one of the Nabob's favourite Eunuchs, named Le Taffeet, commanded about 6000 Horse and Matchlocks. The General having Tents provided for him and his family by the Vizier and pleading business, went and encamped on the Right of the Line, in consequence of which I pitched my Tents on the left.

8th. Capt. McGowan is appointed Baggage master. I presented to the General for his sentiments and approbation bills of charges sent from Allahabad by Col. Upton and Lt. Bruce. The General writes: "I think Col. Upton has acted very wrong in forming an Establishment [of lascars] until he knew whether the Nabob would allow of them. The charges, too, are exorbitant, 4 rupees for a Blue linen Jacket is too much. The Turbands and Jungeries are always purchased by the Lascars [1] themselves. . . . The Garrison of Allahabad was intended to be thrown

[1] Ordinarily, sailors. The term is also applied to inferior artillerymen and men who look after tents and equipments (Hobson Jobson).

into a position of Defence, when it was not determined to defend Corah. The Case is now altered, and Allahabad is in no danger. Bruce must therefore stop his work."

9*th*. I wrote to Col. Upton recommending him to get his Accounts settled in the best manner he can, otherwise he may have some trouble in persuading His Excy. to do it—my Influence with him being lost since the General's Arrival.

10*th*. The Army marched by the Right to Assinpore, 4½ coss.

11*th and* 12*th*. The Army halted. 13*th*. Army marched to Nowadda, 6 coss, through a very fine cultivated country, plenty of villages, pucca wells, &c. 14*th*. Army marched by the left to Yar Wiffidar Nulla, 7 coss.

15*th*. Halted. 16*th*. Marched to near Assaute, the road remarkably fine, with the most extensive plains I ever saw. Assaute appears to be a strong Fort. 17*th*. Marched to near Caderchoak, 7 coss. 18*th*. Army marched to Poolia. No Road, yet the Country is so fine and open there was no obstruction in the way of the Guns.

19*th*. Marched to Sanshivan, 15 measured miles, road rough and jungly in places, with sedgy grass.

Captain Macpherson writes : The General received intelligence that the Marratoe army had crossed the Ganges at Ramgaut, which is 10 Causs off, and Haffies Rahomid's joining us or them being uncertain. This night we heard very heavy fire of Small Arms towards the Gautt.

20*th*. *Colonel Champion writes :* This morning the whole line was under arms at 2 ocl. The Army marched at 2.30. The firing which we heard last night continued till between 8 and 9 this morning, and from what we could gather on the road we were informed there had been a smart Engagement between a party of the Maharattas and Ahmet

Cawn—a Rohilla Chief. Ahmet Cawn and one of his Sons were taken prisoners after having killed about 900 of the Maharattas by their account, and with a loss of about 300 of the Rohillas killed and wounded. About 10 the General sent one of his Aid de Camps to me to form the Line, as the Maharattas were within sight, and I gave orders for the whole to Prime and Load. The Line of Battle was formed as expeditiously as possible—the Grenadiers on the Right, our Left extending to the Ganges. The Maharattas appeared in a Considerable Body on the opposite Shore, and some small parties kept hovering about. The General kept marching on till we came opposite to Ramgaut. There appeared to be about 3000 Horse on the opposite shore.

Captain Macpherson writes: "On arrival to the Eastward of Ramgaut a large body of Marratoes appeared in front near the Ganges. The Marratoes thought proper to re-cross the river without firing a shot. No sooner the General's and Col.'s Tents were pitched than the Marratoes brought down two Guns to the opposite Bank and fired about 30 shots. Many of them dropped near the Col.'s Tent. They seemed to be from a 12-pounder. There was an old woman killed and an Elephant wounded. The General ordered two 12-pounders down to the Bank, and the very second shot that was fired fell amongst the thick of the Enemy, upon which they turn'd tail in great confusion, and a few more Rounds made the whole of them quit the Shore. This evening intelligence arrived that Tukoujee and Zabiti Cawn went up the North side of the river with 15,000 Horse. Last night the Marratoes were attacking the Buxy of the Rohillas who was made prisoner, but his son, with Remainder of the Vanquished Troops, retired to a Mud Fort in Assidpore, about a causs from Ram-

gaut, where they held out till our approach obliged the Enemy to retreat.

[An account of the skirmishes with the Marathas on 20th to 24th March is given on pp. 78 and 79 of Strachey's 'Hastings and the Rohilla War.']

21*st*. The Army halted opposite Ramgaut. Many Seapoys and harcaras were sent to look for a ford where the Guns could cross. Several Bodies of Marratoes came down to the opposite Bank, but did not fire or bring down artillery. Pissajee [Visaji] Pundit had about 16,000 with him upon the opposite Shore.

22*nd*. *Colonel Champion writes:* The General breakfasted with me and proposed our crossing the Ganges at the Ford, the Nabob having sent 20 pieces of Cannon to cover us. He had sent the Nuzeeff Pultan [1] over the night before to occupy some ground.

Captain Macpherson writes: By 10 oclock we were across the Ganges without any resistance, and we could only see a few of their Pindaras scampering about. We encamped on their ground. The General, with the Grenadiers and the 4th and 10th Battns. of seapoys and 8 guns, pursued for about 4 coss, but could not come up with them. He ordered the Colonel to Halt the Army and Encamp till he heard from him.

Colonel Champion writes: "During the General's march the Rascals behaved with the utmost assurance, riding full speed through the Interval of the Line and the rear Guard of the Grenadiers."

Captain Macpherson writes: "Ensign Earl, who had but a very bad horse, was attacked by three of the enemy, and having nothing but a Small Sword

[1] Najib Paltan, body of men of good family. Armed with sword and matchlock (Forbes's 'Oriental Memoirs').

to defend himself, was presently wounded by a Spear and fell off his horse. I took a havildar and 12 seapoys and a palanquin to Mr Earl; and Mr Matthewson, the Surgeon, having come up, I saw the wounded Gentleman put into the palanquin. The Col. being uneasy about the Europeans being without their Tents, I went back to the Ford and crossed the river and ordered the Baggage master to send them over. About an hour after the Baggage was over a message came from Lt. Ogilvie that a body of Marratoes were making towards it. The Col. consented to my going to see what was the matter. I rode about a causs and a half before I came up with the Baggage officer, and saw only a few horsemen at a small distance from the flanks. I sent 4 Mogulls from the baggage guard after them and they made off. At that instant Lt. Col. Goddard came back with the Grenadiers and 2 Battns., and the General soon appear'd also. They saw large Bodies of the Enemy, who kept at a respectable distance, except a very few Bold Pindaras who frequently came very near them, and four of them had once the assurance to ride through the Interval between the Rearguard and the Line."

Colonel Champion writes: The General returned about 5 with a few Prisoners. Haffiz Rahmat Cawn came in to the Vizier, as did several of Nujiff Cawn's people, promising the whole would come over by 20 and 30 at a time as they could make their Escape.

23*rd*. *Captain Macpherson writes:* The Army halted. Haffies Rahomid came to visit the General. Two camels, which were sent a small distance for forage, were carried away by the Pindaras, and the want of Cavalry put it out of our power to follow them.

24*th*. The Army recrossed the Ganges. We encamped on our old ground a mile from Ramgaut. About 4000 infantry, and 1500 horse with 8 guns

from the Nabob's Troops were left to Guard the Ford. A Hircarah from Tukoujee's camp informed me that his army had plundered the City of Sumbul, and that they were on their March to Moradabad and that it was imagined they would cross the Ganges and Booti gaut.

[Sir R. Barker was censured by the Council in Calcutta for crossing the Ganges, as he had been instructed to avoid engaging the Company in an offensive war with the Marathas; and the Ganges was to be crossed only for the protection of the Kora Province (Strachey's 'Hastings and the Rohilla War,' pp. 70 and 80).]

25*th*. The Army marched N.E. 7 causs to near Bissauri Nulla, on the road to Bissouly, a large Town.

26*th*. The Army changed route and marched W.N.W. towards Nirrouly and Sumbul, and encamped near Cuddowly Nulla—distance 6½ causs, and 8 causs from Ram Gautt. The General said we were but 4 days' march from Delhi. We heard that the Marratoes had crossed the Ganges at Boote [Puth, or Poot, fifty miles above Ramghat—see Hamilton, p. 194] Gaut, after plundering the Cities of Sumbul and Moradabad, and were on their march to join Bissajee with Immense Booty.

27*th*. The Army halted. About 2 ocl. we heard very heavy fire of artillery towards Ramgaut. This evening came news that the Maratoes attempted to force the Ford, but were repulsed.

28*th*. The Army marched back to Ramgaut, about 9 coss. The Marratoes have moved about 14 causs off.

[Strachey writes, p. 82: "The Marathas were rapidly followed by the English, and on the 28th March the whole of their forces precipitately retreated across the Ganges, destroying their bridge of boats at Puth in Moradabad, and

leaving behind them much of their baggage. They did not ever again renew their attacks on Rohilkund . . ., though during April they made threatening movements as if they again proposed to cross the Ganges."]

Colonel Champion's Journal.

29th March to 13th April. Halted.

[There is a break in Captain Macpherson's Journal, and nothing important in Colonel Champion's Journal.]

April 14th. The Army marched to Gunnore, 5 coss, near to Currimbans. The Nabob's Gushiens [? Gosains], his best cavalry, encamped on the Right in front of the Grenadiers.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

15th. News from the Marratoe camp that for these two nights past they had had their horses saddled all night. Nazzif Cawn asked Toocoujee if he intended to fight us; he replied that his men were much more inclined to plunder. The Marratoes have Buried all their Heavy Guns near Etawa. Orders by the Hon. the President and Council received by the Col.: "Fort William, March 28th, 1773. Capt. Gabriel Harper of 19th Battn. of seapoys is commanded to proceed forthwith to the Presidency. No officer of any Rank or degree whatever is on any account to supersede this order, or to prevent Capt. Harper from paying Immediate Obedience to it."

18th. We are informed the Marratoes are very uneasy at their Situation and that Pissajee sent his Prime Minister, Dadha Mulhar, to Tookoujee to accuse him of being the cause of commencing Hostilities against the Vizier and English, which

the other denied, but Pissajee persisted that he had often advised him against it, but he paid no attention to his Remonstrances, and said that Fayzabad would not hold out 3 days against them. But now the consequence was plain, for the English and Vizier had a very Large and formidable army ready to attack them, and the Jauts and all the Powers about Delhi were also their Enemies and, in short, they are at a loss how to act. After many arguments they resolved upon marching towards Etawa and, Burn and plunder the Country as they went. They wrote to the Fouzdar of Culpee to make a Bridge over the Jumna under the Walls of Ammir Gurr, a large strong Fort upon the river, 22 causs east of Etawa. Soon after this Pissajee proposed their going to Delhi, as he had received a letter from Hissamoudy Cawn, the acting Vizier, advising that they should discharge Nazif Cawn with his army, and take possession of the King's person and make War upon whomever they pleased in his name, for that Tukoujee, by the advice of Zibbidee Cawn, had already ruined their cause. Tukoujee replied that he would not go to Delhi, but would march towards Etawa. Raja Chittram was last night at Anoobshihir, on his way to Zibbedee Cawn.

19*th*. The Marratoes sent Vakeels to the Nabob to treat.

21*st*. The Nabob and two Vakeels from the Marratoes came to the General's and encamped to the right of the Encampment.

24*th*. Capt. Robinson arrived with his Battn. and a large supply of ammunition. Capt. John Macpherson arrived with some Cadets and recovered men. 25*th*. Orders are issued forbidding any mango trees to be cut. Weather is growing exceedingly hot, thermometer 110 degrees in a Tent under a Tree.

27*th*. Strict orders are issued to prevent the

Europeans from going out in the sun from 8 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon. 28*th*. 13 Extra Beasties [Bhistes—Water-carriers] are allowed each Battn. of the Regiment for Watering the ground and Cooling the men's Tents.

30*th*. The Army marched 4 causs and encamped near the Ganges between Carrimbans and Anoopshaire, but upon the opposite side of the river. Some Seapoys, belonging to the King's Battn., just arrived with a Vakeel from Delhi informed us that the King was extremely poor, and that they had 5 months' pay due, which reduced them to sell all their cloaths for Subsistence.

May 1*st*. On account of the Extreme heat the Col. ordered the Europeans upon the Several Guards to be withdrawn from 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening.

2*nd*. The Quarter masters are ordered to Erect mud Walls and to cover them with Choppers[1] from the Villages for the Europeans, all the Bildars and Coolies to be employed for this purpose.

4*th*. The Marratoes are preparing to recross the Jumna, and Nazif Cawn and Zabbidy Cawn to part with them.

5*th*. The Marratoes are march'd towards the Jumna by Etawa.

[Marshman writes, Vol. i. p. 337: "The young Peshwa having planned an expedition to the South, required the presence of the troops employed in Hindustan, and the Mahratta General suddenly broke up his encampment in the month of May, and retired across the Nurbudda laden with the booty of 3 campaigns."]

6*th*. Lt. Col. Upton is ordered to give up the command of Allahabad and to join his corps.

9*th*. This evening Nazif Cawn came into camp

[1] Roofs of bamboos or thatching grass.

and paid the General a visit. 11*th*. Nazif Cawn paid the Col. a visit, which the Col. returned.

[*Colonel Champion adds:* "The Army is ordered to march on the 12th and to Cantone between Lucknow and Sultanpore."]

Major Arthur Ahmuty with the 3rd and 4th Battns. to continue with the General, who is to remain behind for some time. Mr Laurell is coming up as Chief of the Corah Province, and the Governor will come to Banaris to have a meeting with the Nabob Vizier and the Roheelah Chiefs.

[On 22nd April, Hastings wrote to the Vizier proposing a conference in regard to Rohilla affairs, and stating that he was sending Mr James Lawrell, a gentleman of the Council of Calcutta, to regulate and take charge of the Province of Kora, until it shall be determined in what manner it shall be disposed of. The Vizier asked that the conference might take place as soon as possible. Hastings met the Vizier at Benares on 19th August (Strachey, pp. 87-89).]

12*th*. Our Army march'd to near Gurrea, 6 causs, a large village with a mud Wall belonging to Ammed Cawn.
13*th*. March'd at 2 in the morning and arrived near Deemabary at daylight, 5 causs. Very hot. 14*th*. March'd to near Islamnagur, 6 causs, the road very sandy and heavy.

[*Colonel Champion writes:* The country here is very delightful with beautiful Mango Topes all round.]

Captain Macpherson writes: 15*th*. March'd 6 causs to our ground on the bank of the Sete Null, commonly called the Eeaar Wiffadar, one short causs from Bissouly, which is a large Town, the Capital of Doundy Cawn's son. There are some

large Buildings in it, the Palace is considered as the first piece of Architecture in that Country.

Colonel Champion writes : The hospital is increasing to such a degree that it was necessary to send on a Surgeon to Bareilly, with Letters to the Principal People to provide doolies and Bearers, and in the mean Time I have been obliged to press a Number of Hackeries to carry the Sick Europeans and sepoys, as the Country People don't seem inclined to give us any Assistance voluntarily, notwithstanding I have taken every possible care to prevent Oppression.

Captain Macpherson writes: 16*th*. March'd through the left skirts of Bissowly to our ground near Aaulah, 8 causs. Sent a Compy. of Seapoys to protect the City, which is in a great measure divided amongst all the Chiefs of the Rohillas, who have each of them a Palace in it, except Haffiz Rahomed and Zabbiddy Cawn. Here the Chiefs hold their Congress. The Consumah, who is one of their Chiefs, came out to pay his respects this afternoon with a very large Swaary.

17*th*. Halted. The town has several very large mosques and a Large Brick Fort. Ensign Auchmuty being dangerously ill, leave was granted to Major Auchmuty to stay with him, also to Mr Mitchell, Surgeon.

18*th*. March'd 6 causs to our Ground on both sides the Ram Gunga. . . . The Col. sent a Compy. of Seapoys for the protection of Burreily and Safeguards into all the Villages.

19*th*. The Regiment passed the River in boats, and the seapoys the ford at the same time and marched over a heavy Deep bed of Sand about a mile broad before the Line could be form'd. The baggage and followers marched outside the City to prevent Irregularities, and the Troops only, which could not be avoided, marched through the

Town. In short, every possible means was used for the protection of the Country and City, in return for which they behaved with the greatest insolence and ingratitude. Letters were sent to Rypaur Sing, the Chief man, for Carriage Cattle and Doolies and Bearers, but he threatened to flog the Hircara, and treated the Assistant Surgeon no better. The Nabob's people forcibly took a hundred and ten sheep for which the contractor's people had paid the inhabitants their own price without even returning the money. The Nabob's son sent word that he would come in the evening to see the Col., and his Vakeels promised to get bearers and Hackeries, &c., by that time for the Hospital. But the evening came and no Nabob's son, nor Bearers, or anything else.

We encamp'd near Nucktea Nulla, distance 7 causs. The Nabob's Vakeel was threatened that all protection would be withdrawn from the Country if he did not furnish Bearers and doolies immediately, and the Col. at the same time refused some presents and fruit which were sent by the young Nabob, who sent a very poor Apology for not waiting on the Colonel.

20*th*. March'd to near Furriedpore, 6 causs. The Colonel ordered that the inhabitants should not have any Sepoys for an hour, in which time Mr Williams reported that he had received 50 Doolies and near 200 Bearers. About one oclock the Col. received a note from Lt. Col. Goddard that some seapoys had gone to a village 1½ mile in the rear for Pots, &c., and offered the inhabitants money which they refused, and with their Swords and Arrows cut three seapoys in a cruel manner. In consequence of this insult the Col. sent 3 Compys. of Seapoys to this Village to desire the Zemindar would surrender himself a prisoner. Lt. Col. Goddard, seeing a great number of people in arms, went

forward with a Jemadar and 30 Seapoys to speak to them and to desire that the Zemindar would come to him, and that he or any of his people would not be hurt, but they shook their Heads and let fly some Arrows and fired their Matchlocks, which enraged our Seapoys so much that they pursued them and drove them into a Nulla to their Chins in water, which they crossed, our people firing upon them all the time, but did little damage. Six or seven Villages belonging to the Zemindar were burned to the ground, and the followers, or Pindaries, of the Army nearly plundered them.

21st. March'd 7 causs to near Lahi Cara, and encamp'd on the banks of Bogool Nulla, over which there is a good Pucka Bridge, and immediately sent Seapoys for Protection of all the Villages. The Phoudgedar of Cuttera waited upon the Col.

22nd. March'd 6 good causs to the eastward of Tilher. We came through Cuttera, which is a very large Town, with some capital Buildings. The Purgunna takes its name from this Town; it is 2 causs from Bogool Nulla; and 3 causs from it is Ammirpore, with one or two large houses Built by Amir Khan, a pataan. The same Foudgedar who came yesterday came again this day for Seapoys to protect the Country, which he received.

23rd. March'd 6 causs to near the town of Shawjehanpore. This town is very large and divided into four foudgedarships, without any man who has authority over either of the others. There is a Cutcha Bridge over the Kinsud Nulla, but no bridge over the Gurra. Here Lt. Law met us with a lakh and 14,000 rupees. Only the Artillery Compy., the Select Picquet, and Regiment are ordered to be pay'd, as there is not money enough for the whole. The son of ——, who was Buxy to Amid Cawn, late Nabob of Furruckabad, but was

murdered by his uncle, Muzaffir Jung, came to pay his respects to the Col.

One of our Elephant drivers came running to the Colonel with a Complaint that his Elephant was taken from him by some people. A party of a Jemadar and 20 sepoys were sent out after it. They found the Elephant, but the people made their escape except two men whom they brought in prisoners, but they declared that the Elephant driver was looking over the Walls into their Zinnanahs which was the cause of their beating him, but that they had no intention to carry off the Elephant, upon which they were released.

24*th*. Halted. 25*th*. March'd 5½ causs to West of Shawhabad, where the General was encamped last year. This place is famous for a great Variety and number of Snakes, Scorpions, and Centipedes extremely poisonous. The Col. sent seapoys to protect the Town and all the neighbouring Villages.

26*th*. March'd 5½ causs to Surrimnagur, 3 causs from Shawhabad, which is a very large town about a causs long and some large Buildings. The Col. received a letter from the General recommending short marches and Encamping the men constantly in Topes if possible. This day very hot. The Col. intends to go on this evening to Sundee in hopes of being able to procure some Carriage for our Sick, who are daily increasing very fast.

27*th*. We set out at 10 P.M. and arrived at Sundee at 2 in the morning, 9 causs. Neither Foudgedar nor Cutwal was there. The Foudgedar's Naib refused to come, and sent for answer that he could not furnish anything whatever.

28*th*. The reason given for the Villages being deserted by the principal people is that the Nabob's Army plundered them on their march down. The Army Halts this day at Jagdispore.

29*th*. The Army march'd 5 causs to near Sundee.

The Europeans are going into the Hospital very fast, and we have the greatest difficulty in providing Carriages for them. This day very Hot indeed.

30th. The Army march'd at 1 ocl. and arrived near Bilgram at sunrise, 5 causs. This Town has been a very large one, and there are still the Remains of an immense number of Brick Buildings. The place was famous for Persian and Arabic Academies and there are still some few. They were formerly supported by Jaggeers, or Pensions, from the King, but Suja ul Dowla has deprived them of everything of the Kind, and the Masters now live upon what they receive for educating Children. Major Ahmuty reported to the Col. the death of his cousin at Barreilly, and that he was treated by the Roheelahs with great civility, but upon his arrival at Shawhabad as much the contrary, for the Foudgedar threatened to flog a Havildar and Harcara he sent to the town to buy provision and firewood. The Col. ordered a Battn. of seapoys to remain at Bilgram and to advance 2 Comps. from it to Sundee to secure the safe junction of Capt. Toone, who was on leave at Furruckabad, and Lt. Daws, who was left upon survey. Capt. Bevan's Battn. remains behind.

31st. The army march'd at 1 ocl., 5 causs, and arrived at 5.30 A.M. between Mulaawa and Bagwandnagur.

June 1st. The Troops arrived at Bangermow, 5½ causs.

2nd. The Army Halts and are mustered. *3rd.* March'd 4 causs to near Tuckia, the Col. and family to Assevan, 7 causs.

4th. The Army march'd 3½ causs to East of Assevan. Ensign McMurdo, with a Camp colour man from each Battn. of the Regiment and a tindal[1]

[1] A petty-officer of lascars (see note on p. 117 on lascars).

and 20 lascars, to prepare the Hospital boats at Lucknow. This being the King's birthday 35 Guns are ordered to be fired at 1 ocl. The Col. went to Mahawn, 8 causs. Ensign Kerr with Cadets, Recovered Europeans, and Sepoys arrived last night; and this evening Mr Gibbins, Cadet, was taken ill and died in a few hours. This day was the warmest we have had this Season, for the wind was the hottest, I think, I ever felt. Ten Hackeries arrived from Lucknow for the use of the sick.

June 5th. Army march'd 5 causs and encamped to west of Mohawn. The Col. arrived at Lucknow, 8½ causs, about 5 A.M., and encamp'd in Lackpera Tope. I immediately sent for the Cutwal, who reported that he had 20 large boats and only wanted Choppers. The Foudgedar said he would give the Cutwal money to purchase Bamboos and Straw for choppers, which would be much Quicker than any other plan. Capt. Landig and Ens. McMurdo went to look at the boats. Much wind and dust, very disagreeable indeed.

6*th.* The Army marched at 1 A.M. 5 causs, and arrived at their Ground at 5 near Cooshial Gunge. The Colonel and the Gentlemen with him are very Busy preparing the Boats for the Sick. Mr Matthewson, Asst. Surgeon, died suddenly this afternoon.

7*th.* The Army march'd at 1 ocl. this morning, 4 causs, and arrived at 5 at their Ground near Jellalabad.

8*th.* Army Halts. The Hospital and a Detachment of weak men were Embarked this morning, and the boats set out this afternoon. All Hackeries, Buffaloes, Bearers, Coolies, &c., belonging to the Roheela country are ordered to be discharged and have proper Purwannahs to go back. Representation having been made that several officers are so sick that water Carriage would best suit them, the Col. sent for answer that there were no boats

ready as they did not apply in proper time, but in the evening the Col. directed me to speak to the Cutwal, Mickoo Cawn, of Lucknow, to know if he could furnish any boats for the Sick officers. He replied he could. Upon this, Capt. Landig, Depty. Q.M.G., and the Qr. Mr. of the 2nd Battn. were ordered to fit up the Boats for reception of Sick officers, and I wrote to Col. Goddard that boats would be ready for the Gentlemen who were ill, and that the Col. would be pleased to give them permission to go by water. This letter was despatched at 8 ocl., but Lt. Col. Goddard was asleep when the Hircarah arrived and his servants would not suffer him to be disturbed.

9*th*. The Army march'd at 1 ocl., 4½ causs, to near Seirfraznagur, and encamped at daylight to east and west of the Town. I received a letter from Lt. Rayne, Adjt., that Col. Goddard had not received my Letter till this morning at Gunfire, and that it was then too late to send any officers by water.

10*th*. The Army march'd 5 causs to their Ground in the Tope of Lackpera. Lt. Daws arrived this morning and sent a note that Capt. Toone was very ill of a fever at Novalgunge, upon which Mr Cranstoun, Surgeon, was sent to him with all Expedition.

11*th*. The Army march'd 7 causs to Eastward of Hydergurr. 12*th*. March'd 5 causs to near Eenhouna. On the 8th inst. Every man who was in the Hospital, or Even weak, in the Regiment was sent on board the Boats to Sultanpore, notwithstanding which there are 27 Europeans now in the Hospital. This makes the Col. apprehensive that the Commng. Officers of Battns. are not so attentive to their men as they ought to have been, and therefore orders the Regimental Orderly Books to be sent to him to-morrow morning.

13*th*. The Army Halts. Upon examining the

Orderly books of the Regt. the Col. finds but very few Regimental orders in the 1st Battn. Orderly book, but none at all in the 2nd Battn. book for Guidance of the men during the Hot Season, to prevent them from Irregularities.

14*th*. The Army march'd 5 causs to near Jagdinpore, the Col. went on 5 causs more to Cunduanulla. The Col. is much displeased with Majors Blair and Auchmuty on account of their Orderly Books, and orders are issued accordingly. But thinking Major A. more blameable than the other, he has wrote a letter and directed me to send a copy of it to him signed by myself. I took the liberty to Represent that it would be better to send for him and give him a private Reprimand, which would have a much better effect than a publick one, which he at first declined, but afterwards directed me to wait upon him and Major Blair to signify his displeasure to them, but that he was sure I always soften'd messages of that kind. I replied, rather warm, that I was much concern'd that he could even suppose me guilty of delivering any other message than what he directed, and that I could not have any private view in arguing against a written Reprimand, and then went away to prepare the Letter—which I soon carried to him and ask'd if I would send it. He replied yes, which I was very glad of that I might get off going to deliver such disagreeable messages; however, I was even disappointed in this, for he sent me a Note countermanding the Letter and directing me to wait upon them as before.

Last night the Fouzdar of Jugdinpore complained that a Hircarah and Seapoy came in the Col.'s name to demand the Enlargement of a Zemindar who was confined for his Rents. We were much astonished at this and sent seapoys to confine them immediately. When the above Hircarah and Seapoy were

brought they had nothing to say in their defence, for the Seapoy was sent for the protection of a Village and, I suppose, was bribed to act as he did.

15*th*. The Army march'd 5 causs to near Cundua ka nulla. Capt. Landig sent word that there were very fine Topes and plenty of well water towards Husseinpore, and the Col. approved of this place for halting the Troops till Cantonments are ready at Sultanpore. At Sultanpore the Qr. Mr. Genl. reported there was hardly any materials whatever to begin the Cantonments, and the Foudgedar was very dilatory in providing them.

16*th*. The Army march'd 5 causs to west of Daudpore. Orders are issued for 24 Hackeries and about 1000 working men (Bildars, Coolies, &c.) to be sent to the Qr. Mr. Genl. to help in carrying on the Cantonments.

17*th*. The Army march'd 3 causs and encamped in fine Topes near Husseinpore. I delivered the following messages to Major Blair and Major Auchmuty. To Major B.: "I am directed by Col. Champion to wait upon you and to acquaint you that he has perused your Orderly book and he is well pleased with what Regimental orders have been issued to the 1st Battn., but wish'd to have found much more upon record, which would have shown that a proper attention had been paid to the men in preventing them from Irregularities in the course of this last hot season." Major Blair said that he thought he issued orders as often as they appeared necessary, but he would in future issue plenty.

To Major Auchmuty: "I am directed by Col. Champion to wait upon you and to inform you that after having inspected your Orderly book it appears to him that there has been very little attention paid to the Brigade Orders issued of late, and he is also sorry to observe to you that there does not

appear upon record any pains to have been taken to prevent the men from Irregularities during this hot season, a circumstance which he flattered himself had been carefully attended to." In answer to which the Major said he was convinced that all Brigade orders, &c., had been Strictly attended to. I observed to him the Col. was sorry to see no Regimental orders to that purpose and particularly the orders of 28th May, directing the men to receive an Extra dram in Water every day at 12 ocl.—that no Regimental orders were issued for Officers to see it served. He said that the Col. took too much the Command himself to leave anything for them to do.

Great Scarcity of Straw and Bamboos for the Cantonment.

June 18*th*. The Artillery and Seapoy Corps are to encamp to-morrow on the ground intended for their Cantonments. The Col. is desired by the General to send for Capt. Thomson, and if he prefers being Deputy Judge Advocate to his present command to appoint him. Capt. Thomson said he would with pleasure resign the command of the Select Picquet for the above appointment. Capt. Wroe is recommended to succeed him in the command of the Select Picquet.

20*th*. The sick on board the hospital boats arrived this morning, and 69 of them and the weak men are returned fit for duty.

22*nd*. Strict orders are Issued forbidding any Seapoys being employed upon private Business. Capt. Carter is in orders to join this Brigade to do duty of Brigade Major, so that I shall Return to my duty of Aid de Camp.

23*rd*. The Col. received a letter from Col. Upton that the Nabob had positively refused to pay the charges for laying in a Magazine of Grain, &c., at Allahabad, altho' it was done by his direct orders.

24th. The General Orders appointing Capt. Thomson Deputy Judge Advocate to the 1st Brigade, and Capt. Wroe to command of the Select Picquet until the pleasure of the Govr. and Council is known, are received. Mr Patton, brother to Capt. Patton, who was appointed a Volunteer, is not to draw any pay till he is appointed a Cadet. The Col. wrote to Capt. Pennyng that I must return to my duty of Aid de Camp the beginning of next month. In the afternoon Capt. Pennyng wrote me that he understood that I was to be appointed Aid de Camp. I wrote him in answer that I had considered myself in that light from September '70, and he only acting in the same manner I was Brigade Major.

27th. I despatched to Banaris to Mr Motte 11 horses belonging to Capt. Toone. After supper Major Blair embarked to proceed to Dinapore to see Mrs Blair.

28th. The Governor wants to know the number of Elephants with the Brigade.

29th. Col. Pearse arrived this morning on his way to Fayzabad.

30th. The 1st Battn. of the Regiment marched into their Barracks this morning and the Sick into the Hospital.

July 1st. A lack of rupees arrived from Fayzabad for the troops. *2nd.* The Col. recommended Jaggernout Subr. in the 10th Battn., who is Broke by the Seapoy General Court martial, for mercy. *3rd.* Lt. Rayne has permission to come and live with the Col., and Ens. Freeth is appointed to act as Adjutant of seapoys. The men's Barrack being nearly finished, the Gentlemen have permission to purchase Bamboos, Straw, &c., for Building Bunglows. Capt. Wroe joined from Allahabad.

4th. A Great number of men having been drunk in the Barracks, the Col. ordered the merchants' Boats ½ a causs down the river, and no Liquors to

be sold out of them except to Gentlemen, and they are to send Chits to be shown to the Brigade Major every Evening.

5th. The 2nd Battn. marched into their Barracks this morning.

6th. This morning the Provost Sergeant reported that Gunda, the Black woman under sentence of death by the Sepoy General Court martial, declared herself 4 months gone in her pregnancy, in consequence of which the Colonel ordered for a jury of twelve matrons to examine her upon oath, which was administered to them according to their faith, in presence of Col. Champion and Captain Thomson, Deputy Judge Advocate. They examined the prisoner and declared upon oath that she was not pregnant.

July 7th. Golam Ali, a Black man, and Gunda, a Black woman, were this morning Hanged at 8 o'clock in the Centre of the Grand Bazar agreeable to their sentence.

The Tom-toms are ordered to be continued to the Seapoy Corps till Drummers can be had.

8th. The Col. wrote to Capt. Toone a publick letter expressing his approbation of his conduct during the Campaign in his Several Employs of Aid de Camp, Persian Interpreter, and Qr. Mr. Genl. We are informed the Governor left Calcutta the 25th June. Col. Cummings is appointed to command of the Troops in Cooch Byhaar country.

10th. Order from the General directing that all the Jemadars in the Seapoy Corps were to do all other duty, notwithstanding they carried the Colours, also that 2 Extra Jemadars should be retained to carry the Honorary Colours of the 3rd, 4th, and 14th Battns. Mr Cobham arrived from the eastward on his way to Fayzabad.

11th. Orders sent to Capt. David Morrison, Commanding at Cawnpore, to Embark the sick and

recovered Europeans and the sick Seapoys and proceed with them by water to Sultanpore, a Jemadar's guard to be left at Cawnpore.

12*th*. The Brigade being now in a great degree settled in Cantonments, Orders are issued for the Officers to appear Powder'd and Dress'd when upon Duty. Mr Ford, Surgeon, arrived.

13*th*. Capts. Browne and Toone being ordered down to meet the Governor, their appointments as Acting A. D. Camps to the General and Col. Champion are revoked. Lt. Col. Goddard represented the impropriety of officers applying immediately to the Col. for leave of absence, without first making request to their respective Commng. Officers, in consequence of which Ens. Hooper, who obtained permission to proceed to Chittagong for the Recovery of his Health, was countermanded till he made Col. Goddard a sufficient Apology.

14*th*. The Commr. in Chief being expected from Fayzabad in 2 or 3 days, a salute of 17 Guns is to be in readiness to be fired upon his arrival, and 2 Comps. of Seapoy Grenadiers to receive him at the Gautt.

16*th*. Complaints being daily made against the followers of the Army going into the Country under pretence of buying grain, &c., and oppressing and plundering the Inhabitants, the Col., in order to put a stop to such malpractices, has ordered the head Choudry to Establish a Gunge, to which all the followers of the Army are ordered to repair, also all cutwals for supplys of every kind.

20*th*. The General arrived this day after a very tedious and fatiguing journey. He and his family were last night at Emmany Gunge. The country is so much under water that they could not get a dry spot for their Tents, except a very indifferent one in the Centre of the Bazaar. This morning, in swimming their Elephants, one of them was oversett

by the weight of water which the Howder took in, and was very near being drowned when the drivers got his ropes cut and the Howder sent adrift.

About 5 in afternoon the Col. desired me to acquaint Commng. Officers of Corps that the General was going round the Line in his Chariot. I immediately wrote to Col. Goddard and to Major Auchmuty, and went myself and spoke to the Adjutants of the Regiment and the Sergeant-major of Artillery. But when the General and Colonel went out the Artillery had no Officers at all, the 2nd Battalion of the Regiment had some Subalterns and only one Captain and no Field Officer. The Col. was exceedingly angry and concerned by the conduct of his officers, and issued the following orders: "When the Line is ordered to Turn out to receive the Commr. in Chief, or any Person, it is meant to be ready at a Moment's Warning, and it is the duty of every Officer to parade with their respective Corps. But when Officers of Rank Neglect that duty and respect which is due to their Superiors, it is not to be wondered at if those of inferior Rank are inattentive and careless of their's, and it is with inexpressible concern the Col. finds himself under the Necessity of thus publickly reprimanding Officers for their Conduct this Evening, but he by no means intends to avoid doing Justice to the Officers of the 1st Battn. of the Regiment and the 5th Battn. of Seapoys, as every Respect and attention were paid by them. It is to be observed that no Field Officer whatever was upon the Parade when the General went along the Line."

Colonel Champion's Journal.

July 21*st*. This morning the Brigade was under arms on the Grand Parade to attend the Execution of the following Prisoners under sentence of death

for desertion: Peter Rush and Peter Gillapin to be shot; Francis Perria, Hendk. Hanson, and Nicholas Eagle to be hanged.

The prisoners were marched from the Main Guard along the Front of the whole Line in great Solemnity, which drew the Melancholy attention of every man present. When they arrived at the place of Execution they all kneeled down and continued at prayers above an hour, after which I ordered the Brigade Major to acquaint them that they were to Cast the Dice who should suffer first, which they did, and threw the following Numbers with a pair of Dice: Peter Rush, two fours; Peter Gillapin, 6 and 4; Hendk. Hanson, 6 and 4; Francis Perria, 6 and 5; Nich. Eagle, 6 and 4. Peter Rush having thrown the lowest was ordered to Suffer accordingly, which he did, after a short but devout prayer, and behaved with great decency and Resolution. The moment this unfortunate Man was Executed by being shot, I came up and acquainted the other prisoners that the Commander in Chief was pleased to pardon them. I then ordered the whole Line to march by Divisions past the Body and return to their Barracks.

23*rd*. The General and his Family embarked this afternoon for Juanpore.

July 25*th*. I directed Captain Macpherson to send for the Fouzdar and Contractor's Sircar to fix upon some proper plan for furnishing Bussy [cut straw] for the Cattle, as daily Complaints were brought by the Country People of being oppressed by the Bullock drivers taking Boossy by force and without Payment, and again by the Drivers that they were willing to pay for it but could not get near Enough. When the Contractor's Sircar came into Captain Macpherson's Bungalow my Sircar was there also, and the other, who is of the Writer Cast, did not, it seems, act with the respect

due to him who is a Brahman, in consequence of which some high Words passed between them. Captain Macpherson immediately ordered them to be silent, and asked what occasioned this Noise. My Sircar replied in English that the other was a proud Young Scoundrel who would not pay him the respect due to his Cast, upon which the Contractor's Sircar said that he was an Old Scoundrel; and my Sircar desired him to recollect how his Uncle was carried round the town upon a Jackass and two Bottles hanging about his Neck. The Contractor's Sircar said You are an Old Fool. I Know you to be the Colonel's Sircar, and I have Twenty better in my Cook Room. Hearing this disrespectful language, Captain Macpherson ordered Silence and desired them to go about their business. He then told my Sircar to say nothing about the Matter, and that to-morrow being Cutcherry day he would take care to settle their Religious disputes in presence of the principal Sircars of both Casts. However, my Sircar was not satisfied but complained to me, and I was with great reason angry at the disrespectful manner in which the Contractor's Sircar made use of my Name and using my Principal Sircar with such insolence. I sent for Captain Macpherson, who informed me as above, upon which I ordered the Contractor's Sircar to my own Guard. After dinner I desired Captain Macpherson to release the Sircar in the Evening, as I only meant to make him sensible how improper it was to make use of my Name in that disrespectful Manner.

July 30*th*. This day a Chobdar arrived from Muneer-ud-Daula with the following honorary titles from the King Shah Alam :—

[For Colonel Champion.] " Omra of six thousand, Commander of 5000 horse, with permission to wear a gold fringe to my palanquin, carry a flag of state,

and beat the Nobit,[1] or Naigin, with this motto—The Light of Riches and the Valiant in war, with two seals."

August 1st. This day the body of Ensign Kerr, who was on his way from Fayzabad and was drowned in a nulla, was brought into cantonments.

3rd. Letters from Calcutta mention Reports very unfavourable to the Existence of the Company, and that many of the Capital Bankers at Home are become Bankrupts. *8th.* I received an order from the Governor to send two Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers to Benaris to Join his Escort.

10th. The Governor arrived at Patna on the 3rd inst.

14th. Some Europe letters arrived in camp. There are Great Expectations that the Government will take the Company's Territorial Dominions into their own Hands.

16th. I ordered the Howitz out this morning to try the New Method of firing at 200 yds. Distance. Fired 5 through the Target in seven Minutes, and it appears much more certain than the former.

19th. I received a letter from Capt. Toone that the Governor was desirous of seeing me and that they hoped to be at Benares the 19th; also that the General was certainly going Home and had recommended me to Succeed him in the Command of the Army.

22nd. I embarked for Juanpore and issued orders for all Reports to be made to Col. Goddard.

23rd. Yesterday got about 10 causs down the Gumpty, and this Evening came to within 4 causs of Juanpore by Land and 7 by Water. This river all the way from Sultanpore to Juanpore has the most Beautiful Banks covered with Verdure down to the Water's Edge of any I have seen in India.

[1] "Naubat," the privilege of causing a royal drum to be beaten, a privilege of a ruler. "Naigin" or Nagina, a royal trumpet.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

24*th*. Arrived at Juanpore and after dinner set out in our palanquins.

25*th*. March'd at 4 A.M. and arrived near Samey Surrai at 11.

26*th*. Arrived at the Raja's Garden near Benares and were all asked to Dinner at the Governour's, to whom we were Introduced by the Col. In the evening we went to pay our respects to the General.

29*th*. I have great hopes that Captn. Carter will soon be employed upon a Survey, and that I shall be continued Brigade Major for some years at least till I get a Battn. of Seapoys.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

30*th*. I went to breakfast with the Governor at his own House and had an Hour's Conversation with him. He gave me to understand that the Brigade would soon be ordered down the Country, upon which I observed to the Governor that I was determined to go home, but he strongly advised me to the Contrary. I was particularly informed of the Bad Treatment Raja Chet Singh met with from the Nabob, and the Reason assigned for it to be the preference the first showed in his attention to the Governor, which I make no doubt will induce the Nabob to retort upon him the very first Opportunity.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

30*th*. It is remarkable that the General has not been to see the Colonel notwithstanding he has been twice to visit him. I have received a letter from Mr Smith at Choppra enquiring after one Thomas Fowler who has had a good fortune left

him in England. The Colonel has received a letter from Col. Ironside pleading his forgiveness of Lt. Read's extraordinary behaviour in going from Cawnpore to Dinapore without permission.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

Sept. 1st. I received a letter from Capt. Pennyng begging that I would use my Endeavours to get him on the Invalid List. I sent a letter to the Governor enclosing an Account of what Articles I gave in a present to the Nabob of Furruckabad, amounting to near 10,000 Rupees. I received a note from the General that he would call upon me in the morning.

2nd. Ensign Davies arrived with the Supernumerary Non Warrant Officers and Sepoys for the Militia. I received many letters from Officers and Cadets applying for the Post of Qr. Master to the Select Picquet, Vacant by the death of Mr McDonnell. I received a visit from the General this forenoon.

3rd. I promised the Qr. Mr. ship of the Select Picquet to Mr Sinclair if the Appointment is left to me.

4th. I received a letter from the Governor that he would transmit my Charge for Presents made to the Nabob of Furruckabad to the Board, as on their Determination must depend the Payment of it. The Amount is 12,000 rupees. I received Orders issued by the General for the Artillery Company, Select Picquet, Regiment, and 4 Battns. of Sepoys to march to Juanpore. All the Guns and Tumbrills in the Park of Artillery to be Embarked and proceed to the same place where the Artillery, Select Picquet, and Regiment are to Embark and proceed by Water to Dinapore if there are Boats sufficient; if not, the Select Picquet to proceed by

Land with the Sepoys. Two Battns. of Sepoys with the whole Magazine to remain at Sultanpore. Mr Sinclair, Cadet, is appointed Qr. Master to the Select Picquet.

5th. The Hospital also to be embarked. All the carriage bullocks belonging to the Magazine are ordered to be sent to the Battns. of the Regiment to assist in carrying their Camp equipage, also all the Coolies belonging to the Artillery. The Qr. Master General's Assistant, with proper People, to be sent on in Front for making Bridges or Rafts over the several Nullas from Sultanpore to Juanpore. I recommended Col. Goddard not to march the Troops till after a few days' dry Weather as the Country is at present entirely under Water, owing to the very heavy Rains we have had for these three days past; also to have the Arms of the Europeans carried if he thinks necessary. *6th.* Orders issued countermanding the Orders for the Two Battns. to remain with the Magazine at Sultanpore, and the whole are ordered to March together. The Magazine to be embarked with the Guns.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

7th. Capt. Carter is ordered to proceed on a Survey and I am appointed to do the duty of Major of Brigade to the 1st Brigade.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

7th. I have a Prospect of being reimbursed for the Present I made the Nabob of Furoughabad, but the Gentlemen of the Council declare that an Entire Stop must be put to any Presents made by Officers being Charged to the Company.

8th. I paid the Nabob Vizier a Visit this morning. Lt. Welch (by the desire of the Governor) is ordered

to command a Company of Sepoys to proceed as an escort with Capt. Carter.

9*th*. Orders sent by the Governor to direct another Company of Seapoys to join the Compy. now under the command of Lt. Welch.

10*th*. This evening the Governor and family supp'd with me, and to-morrow, after dinner, sets out to visit Chunargur, where he will stay one day and return to Patna, having concluded all his Business with the Nabob. The Report is that the latter is to pay the Company 40 Lakhs of Rupees for the Korah Province, and Mr Lambert is going up to receive One-half now and the other half to be paid in six months.

11*th*. The Governor set out this Forenoon for Chunar and arrived at 4 oclock. He was Saluted with 19 Guns when he came under the Walls, and went next morning into the Fort, when he was again Saluted with an equal number and so when he quitted it.

12*th*. This afternoon the Governor left Chunargur, but could not get as low as Benaris. Col. Goddard has pressed every Boat about Sultanpore, even the Ferry Boats.

13*th*. The Governor passed Banaris this Morning and was saluted from the high ground near Raj Gautt with 19 Guns. The General embarked immediately after dinner and set off down the Country. He was saluted with 17 Guns as he passed Raj Gautt.

14*th*. Mr Lambert set out this Morning for Fayzabad. I have resolved to send Capt. Macpherson to Juanpore with orders to Col. Goddard for the Embarkation of the Troops, and instructions upon no account to halt or suffer the Boats with the Troops to go near Dinapore or Patna, and the first Rendezvous to be at Monghier. I received a Visit this Evening from Haussin Sing and Byeram, Prime

Ministers to Raja Chit Sing, and I go to-morrow to Ramnagur to see the Raja.

15*th*. I received a letter from Col. Goddard covering two from Capt. Landig, acquainting him that the Road was so exceedingly covered with Water that there was no Distinguishing a Nullah from a Plain, which rendered the Marching of the Troops impossible till the Waters were subsided. This evening I paid Raja Chit Sing a visit at Ramnagur. This morning Mr Lawrell sent a Party of Sepoys and broke down the Bridge of Boats over the Barneah Nullah and carried them away, which will make it Difficult for the Sepoys to cross.

18*th*. The Brigade march'd on the 15th from Sultanpore to Baddyah, distance about 4 causs, but I have reason to be afraid that they will meet with great Difficulties as it has been almost an incessant Rain here since that day, that not only the Nullahs but the whole Country must be overflow'd.

19*th*. A letter from Col. Goddard acquaints me that Capt. Landig is endeavouring to throw a Bridge over the Sunnia Nullah, but has met with great Difficulty on account of the Violent Rain they had on the 16th. The troops encamped this day at Rampore, distance about 4 causs. Col. Goddard writes that a fray happened between the Rear Guard and some of the Villagers in which a Sepoy was wounded and a Villager killed. I directed Captain Macpherson to proceed to Juanpore and see that the Budgerows and Boats were ready for the Reception of the Artillery and Regiment, and to acquaint Col. Goddard that he might take a small Budgerow for the use of his Family in case he should find occasion for it.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

Septbr. 19*th*. I set off at 10 ocl. and arrived at the Suir Nullah at sunset, which was so rapid over the Bridge that I was obliged to cross it in a Boat, and on the other side found Mr Lambert and Mr DuCarroll, who had been stopped in crossing their Baggage for 3 Days. I stayed and supped with them.

20*th*. I sett off in Company with Mr Lambert and we arrived at Juanpore about ½ past 7 ocl., and to our great astonishment the Gumpty ran very strong over the Bridge, and all the Store boats, &c., from Sultanpore Sailed with ease down through the Town in about 10 feet Water, a Circumstance which has not been known in that place for the space of 35 years before. There I found Mr Cobham, Commissary of Boats. I acquainted him that all the camp equipage must be embarked on Separate Boats in order to be delivered to the 2nd Brigade at Dinapore. He replied that there would not be near Boats enough if it was not embarked in the same Boats with the Troops, in consequence of which he and I wrote particularly to the Colonel upon that subject, and recommended its being landed a little below Moniah where proper Officers from the 2nd Brigade might be ready to receive it. The European Hospital, under the command of Lt. Ramsay, went off yesterday afternoon with orders to make the best of their way to Monghyr. Lt. Rennie is very busy embarking the Ordnance and Stores.

22*nd*. The Col. received a Letter from Col. Goddard, dated 19th, representing the Distressed Situation the Troops and followers were in on the Banks of the Timara Nullah, particularly Capt. Landig with the 2 Comps. of Artificers, &c., who were with him making the Bridge, for the Water rose so high that it was with the greatest Difficulty

they could save their lives by sending the Elephants for them and every other Contrivance they could think of; and they were under many apprehensions that many lives were lost. I received a letter from Col. Goddard that the Europeans had no Arrack, and that there was a great Scarcity of Grain in Camp. He requests that I will use my utmost Endeavours to send some from this Place. I accordingly sent for the Contractor's Sircar and directed him to send off Arrack immediately, and the Fouzdar and Cutwal have promised to prepare Grain to be sent off to-morrow morning. The River Gumpty still continues to rise, though the Weather has been fine since the 19th.

23*rd*. The Fouzdar has been with me this morning and between 30 and 40 Bullock Loads of Rice will be sent away this Afternoon, and Two days Arrack is already gone.

24*th*. A Hundred Coolies will be set off in the Evening with more Grain to Camp, and two days more Arrack is gone. Lt. Livingston with the Treasure arrived this morning. I have ordered him to unload the Hackaries and send them to me in order to be sent to Camp with more Arrack and Provisions.

25*th*. I received a letter from The Col. acquiescing with our proposal of Embarking the Camp Equipage, and to have it landed at Moniah. The River still continues rising, and what is most Extraordinary the Ganges and all the Nullahs fall very fast.

26*th*. The Artillery, Select Picquet, Regiment, 2 Battns. of Sepoys, and all the Sepoy Guns crossed the river yesterday.

27*th*. Hearing the troops were within 4 causs of Juanpore, I went out this morning and delivered Col. Goddard all the orders I received from the Colonel. I returned to Juanpore this afternoon. Col. Goddard told me that some Disputes had

arisen between Major A. F. Auchmuty and Captain Bullingbroke on account of the former having taken upon him the Command of the 1st Battn. of the Regiment as well as the 2nd, and even going so far as to order Regimental Court Martials in both Battalions, *though in reality he only* commanded the 2nd, but that he (Col. Goddard) was determined not to interfere but would transmit what both Parties had said to Col. Champion.

28*th*. The Brigade arrived at Juanpore this morning, and the Company of Artillery and 1st Battn. embarked on board the Boats immediately. The Artillery boats are to halt at Buxar, all ammunition and stores not immediately wanted for the transportation of the guns to be lodged in the magazine at Buxar under the charge of Captain Grant, the C.O., and Mr Rainsford, the Conductor of Stores to that Magazine.

29*th*. This morning at 2 oclock I set out for Benaris, and arrived at the Colonel's Budgerow in the Bumia Nullah *at 2 oclock* P.M.

The Colonel and Family set off at 4 P.M. and came to in the evening about 2 causs short of the mouth of the Gumpty.

30*th*. Set off at daylight and came to in the evening within 1½ causs of Gauzipur.

October 1*st*. Set off at the same time, passed Buxar about 11.30 A.M. with a fair wind and came to at night about 2 causs above Mangee.

2*nd*. Set off at daylight and arrived at Dinapore at ¼ past 12 at noon. In the evening the Colonel paid a Visit to Mr Lane, the Chief of Patna.

3*rd*. Col. Chapman came down from Dinapore and dined with the Colonel. The Supernumerary Sepoys, who were sent down from Sultanpore for the Militia, came *in a Body to* represent to the Colonel the hardship they suffered by being sent down for the Militia, and upon their arrival here

were Discharged the Service, when they were some of them about 500 causs from their Families and had nothing to support them, and what Still made it harder that many of them had been from 12 to 15 years in the Service and were now grown old and unable to earn their Bread in any other Capacity, and had no prospect before them except that of Starving.

4th. The 1st Battn. of the Regiment arrived between Seerpore and Moniah; and the camp equipage was delivered to the Qr. Master of the 2nd Brigade.

5th. The 1st Bttn. passed Bankipore. When the Battn. was passing the Colonel was surprised at seeing no more than two Budgerows with Officers with the whole Battn., the rest of the Officers having remained at Dinapore to transact private Business. The 2nd Battn. of the Regiment arrived between Moniah and Seerpore and delivered the Camp Equipage. Major Auchmuty reports that many of the Dandies [boatmen] are run away. Lt. Bremner of this Battn. died since they left Juanpore.

6th. The 2nd Battn. still remains above Seerpore for want of Dandies, but orders are sent to Major Auchmuty to set off to-morrow and proceed to Monghyr, where he is to halt a Day and then make the best of his Way to Plassey. Orders despatched to the Officer Commanding 1st Battn. at Monghyr to proceed with all safe Expedition to Plassey and halt for Orders, as the Colonel is apprehensive the Cossimbazar [river] will be shut up.

7th. The 2nd Battn. passed Bankipore. Major Auchmuty applied for permission to stay till the Afternoon, which the Colonel readily granted.

8th. The Colonel observed Major Auchmuty again this day at Major Hannay's; and hearing him Declare his intention at Table of waiting a day or two longer in order to go down with Mr Lawrell,

which he could not help being impressed at, as he had not applied for permission, in the evening the Colonel directed me to send him an order to proceed to join his Corps, there being no Field Officer with the Regiment.

9*th*. The Artillery passed between 9 and 10 ocl. this morning, and the Colonel wrote to the Governor and General acquainting them therewith. I requested Col. C. to recommend my Brother to Col. Chapman, which he accordingly did, and obtained a Promise that he would be glad to serve him when Opportunity offered.

10*th*. We set off from Bankipore at daylight, and the Colonel was Saluted from the Fort at Patna as he passed by a little after Sunrise. Came this evening a little below Moor, 3 causs above Deriapore.

11*th*. Set off at daylight and arrived at Monghyr a little after Sunset. The Colonel supp'd at Major Tolley's. Here we despatch'd the Monthly Returns to the Governor and Commander in Chief.

12*th*. At daylight left Monghyr. Were a good deal tossed by a strong Southerly Wind which drove us against the North Shore through the whole forenoon. Stopped this Evening near Colgong under very disagreeable and high Banks which were falling in, and the Current so Strong that the Colonel thought it necessary to let go an anchor to stop his large Pinnace, but the Cable parted and we lost it immediately and the Boat came with great Violence against the Bank.

13*th*. I received a note from Capt. Toone requesting I would call at Pointy on my way down for a White Antelope which Capt. Brooke promised the Governor and some Peacocks he promised Capt. Toone. Upon arrival at Pointy, finding that Capt. Brooke was gone to Dinapore to attend the General Court Martial, I sent for his Sircar, who informed me that the Antelope had been sent away

in one of the Governor's boats, and that the Peacocks would be got ready and embarked on my Boats. Hearing that Lt. Scott was here I went up to Breakfast with him. He is also summoned to the Court Martial, but Bad health prevents his going before he gets a Budgerow. Capt. Brooke's Sircar embarked 4 Young Pea Chickens. This evening we stopped close to Rajamaul. The heavy boats with our horses have been in the rear since we left Monghyr.

14*th*. Entered the Cossimbazar River at 12 ocl. and came to in the Evening a little below a Village called Soorty.

15*th*. Put off at Gunfire, and about 7 oclk. in the evening arrived at the upper End of Murshawdabad, and it being the first night of the New Year with the Hindoos, both Sides of the River and all the Houses were very much illuminated. About 9 we came opposite to Mootijil. The Col. received a note from Mr Martin that a Chariot would attend him in the Morning to carry him to Mootijil.

16*th*. The Colonel and myself went in the Chariot to Mr Martin's at Mootyjil, upon which the Colonel wrote to the General to acquaint him of his Arrival, also to the Governor to know their instructions. After supper returned to the Budgerows at Cossimbazar, which Place the 2nd Battn. pass'd yesterday evening.

17*th*. Spent the Day at Mr Middleton's at Moidapore. The Artillery Company pass'd Barrampore this Afternoon about 2 oclock. Orders are sent to the Offr. Commg. at Plassey to prevent the Europeans as much as possible from Straggling. Mr Middleton has sent down People to furnish Grain, &c., for the use of the Troops.

18*th*. This Morning Mr Middleton came to Breakfast with the Colonel and was saluted with 15 Guns from the Pinnace. The Colonel desired me to Write

to Col. Galliez to order the Recruits now at Barrampore belonging to the 1st Brigade to proceed to Plassey. The Qr. Masters of the Regiment having neglected to send in their Monthly Returns of Camp Equipage for September, I wrote to the Commng. Officers about it, in answer to which Lt. Curfey wrote me that his Books were in the Rear and he could not make out his Return before their Arrival, and Ensign McMurdo, Qr. Mr. of the 2nd Battn., sent neither answer nor Return.

19*th*. The Colonel ordered all the Boats belonging to Benaris which brought down our Horses to be discharged, and a Persian Purwannah to be given them to Return. Mr Middleton and Mr Lawrell came on board the Colonel's Pinnace, and all the Budgerows and Boats set off for Barrampore, where we spent the Day with Col. Galliez.

20*th*. At daylight set off and came to a little below Plassey about ½ past 7 in the evening, where we found the Artillery and Regiment.

21*st*. Orders were issued at daylight for the Troops to proceed in 3 Divisions—viz., the Artillery at 7 ocl., the 1st Battn. half an hour after, and the 2nd at 8. The Wind being very strong against us all day we only got down to Moliah, which is 2 causs above Agudip. Report was given from the 1st Battn. of One of their Sick Men falling overboard and being drowned.

22*nd*. The Troops put off in the same order as yesterday. Came to at ½ past 3 P.M. near Cummunlagun.

23*rd*. Put off at 4 ocl.; past Nudea a Quarter before 9. At 12 a Boat arrived from the Presidency with Orders from the Governor to send back the Artillery and one Battn. to Burrampore as the 2nd Battn. of the 3rd Brigade was not ready to take the Field, and therefore there would not be Room for the Whole of the Brigade at Calcutta. The

2nd Battn. of the Regiment, with the Artillery, is therefore ordered to return to Burrampore Cantonments, and the 1st Battn. to the Presidency. Major Auchmuty to command the troops going to Barrampore, and Capt. Bullingbroke to make the Best of his Way to Chitpore with the 1st Battn. Came to at 9 ocl. 6 causs below Culna.

Oct. 24th. Put off at 4 ocl. and past Chunserow about half an hour past 1 P.M. Came to at 8 in the evening, 2 causs above Chitpore.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT FORT WILLIAM: 25TH OCTOBER 1773 TO FEBRUARY 1774.

Colonel Champion's and Captain Macpherson's Journals at Fort William, 25th October 1773 to 19th February 1774. Colonel Champion's negotiations for resignation by Colonel Charles Chapman of the service. Right of Artillery to "parade upon the right" recognised. Mr J. Petry charged with killing Mr Rochford in a duel, found not guilty by a jury. Duties of Q.M.G. defined in Order of Council. Brig.-General Sir Robert Barker resigns the service, 21st December 1773, and Colonel Chapman is appointed Commander-in-Chief in his place. Military officers appointed to be chaplains. A private soldier sentenced to "run the gauntlet for the scandalous crime of theft." The Freemasons give a ball and supper at The Bungalow on the Esplanade, 13th January 1774. Englishmen "trapanned" at Amsterdam. Colonel Chapman resigns the service, and Colonel Champion is appointed Commander-in-Chief in his place.

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

1773. *Oct. 25th.* Put off at 5 ocl. in the Morning and arrived at Calcutta at 7, and came to between the Town and the New Fort. Landed immediately and went to pay our Respects to the Governor and General, &c., afterwards to Mr Grant's, where the Colonel got a house. The 1st Battn. arrived at Chitpore about 12 ocl., where they met Orders from the General to return to Sookchar and there wait for further Orders. This was a very Extraordinary Circumstance as the Governor in the morning had desired the Battn. to be brought down below the New Fort. However, the General's being the last Order

received was immediately complied with. In the Evening the Colonel and myself went to pay Several Visits to the Ladies.

26th. I wrote to Major Auchmuty that the Colonel desired a Report might be sent specifying the particulars of cloathing of the 2nd Battn. that was in the Boat belonging to the Nabob, which is missing. Also to Captain Bullingbroke directing him to send Down the Sick of the 1st Battn. To-morrow morning with the Tide of Ebb under the Charge of Mr Mitchell, who is to deliver them into the General Hospital. Also to Capt. Rooke informing him that the Colonel could not himself grant him leave of absence and would apply to the General for it. Also to Lt. Rannie desiring him to send down the Horse he promised to let the Colonel have . . . also to send down the Colonel's Camp waggons.

27th. The Colonel still continues paying his publick Visits to the Gentlemen of the Council, &c. The General has taken his passage for Europe, and Col. Chapman is called down to the Presidency to Succeed to the Command of the Army.

Colonel Champion's Journal.

October 28th. Col. Chapman has declared to some of his particular Friends that if a Confederation was made by the Officers who are to Succeed he would resign the Service and go home this Season. He even hinted this to me on the Way down, but I did not then make any particular reply, as I was desirous of knowing the Sentiments of the Gentlemen in the Administration before I would take any Steps towards it myself. Since my arrival here I have sounded the Governor and almost all of them upon the Subject, and they declared their entire Approbation of such a Scheme being brought

about as they were certain the Service would not suffer, though contrary to the Rules thereof. Lt. Cols. Galliez and Ironside being concerned in proportion to their Rank, and would consequently reap the Advantages of such a Resignation, I and my Friends thought it reasonable they should pay a share of the Sum necessary to bring it about.

Oct. 29th. The following order was issued by the Governor, viz.:

"Fort William, Oct. 29th, 1773. Lt. Col. Goddard will be pleased to detach immediately One Battn. of Sepoys from the Troops under his command to relieve the 21st Battn. of the 3rd Brigade Stationed at Beerbhoom. The 21st Battn. when relieved, is ordered to march immediately to Berhampore." I being the Commanding Officer of the Brigade at the Presidency, it is extraordinary enough that they should direct Col. Goddard to detach any part of the Brigade, whereas it ought to be done by me. It's also to be observed that the Town Major sent no Copy of this Order to me, and I only heard of such an order being issued by Chance. In the Evening Capt. Macpherson asked the Town Major whether he did not think it proper that all Orders concerning the Brigade should first be sent to me, more particularly as I was now upon duty at the Presidency, and it being the Hd. Qrs. of the Brigade, therefore sending them to me could not be attended with any Detriment or Delay to the Service. He acknowledged my Remark to be very just and that he would not then despatch the Orders to Lt. Col. Goddard as was at first intended, but would send them to me. He also spoke to him concerning the Parole having been never sent to me since my arrival at Calcutta, which I seemed to think a little extraordinary. Capt. Kyd observed that it was very right and that he would send it in future.

30*th*. . . . I wrote the following letter to Lt. Col.

Galliez at Berrampore: "Dear Sir,—Since my Arrival at the Presidency I have obtained the Administration's consent to make Col. Chapman an Offer towards his Resignation, but it's particularly desired by them that it may be a Secret. It being a very delicate subject makes it also necessary that the Question should be put to him before his Arrival in Calcutta that he may immediately give out that his coming down is to resign the Service and not to take the Command. The sum he hinted to me at Patna was about 50,000 rupees. It's too large a Sum for me to advance on this Occasion as my Situation will be very uncertain. As you and Col. Ironside will both Benefit by such a measure, it's requisite that you should pay a proportion towards it. I will leave that proportion to Mr Hastings or to any one you please.

Let me have a Line from you on this subject immediately, and I beg that the utmost Secrecy may be kept in this matter. I am, dear Sir, &c.

A. C."

CALCUTTA, *Oct. 30th*, 1773.

Nov. 7th. This day I received an answer from Lt. Col. Galliez to my letter of the 30th, though not a very satisfactory one, he declining the Proposal.

Captain Macpherson writes: Nov. 4th. Yesterday morning Col. Grant left the Great House and Col. Champion went into it.

5th. The Col. seems to have dropt all intentions of returning to Europe this year.

8th. The 1st Battn. is ordered to have 3 Field Days a Week on the Esplanade when all Officers are to attend, and the Men to be out with the Adjutant without Officers the other 3 days. Two Guns to be out with the Battalion on Field days.

Colonel Champion writes: Nov. 10th. This day I

received a Representation from Col. Pearse (through the Town Major) of a grievance he considered the Artillery Corps to labour under, by being ordered to parade on the left of the Regiment at Roll Calling and in making reports to the Senior Officer of the whole Parade, who belonged to a different Corps; also that mounting a Subaltern's Guard drew too many men from the duty of the Guns, and flattered himself that I would see it in the same light. It appeared to me that the Artillery, according to the Rules of War, should parade upon the Right and gave orders accordingly, and reduced the Guard to 1 Sergeant and 13 Rank and File.

Nov. 13th. In Scaling some of the Guns this Morning the following unfortunate Accident happened—viz.: In loading one of the Guns upon the Ground near the North Barracks the Powder in Ramming home the Charge took fire, by which One Gunner was killed upon the Spot, and another lost his Arm and his Life is also despaired of. At the Time the above Gun went off they were loading the next to it with loose Powder which also catched Fire and wounded 4 more Europeans and 2 or 3 Lascars. Upon examining the Ramrod used in loading the first Gun, it appear'd that the end of it was covered with painted Iron instead of Copper, as it ought to have been, but the Paint deceived both Officers and Men. However, this cannot be allowed as a sufficient Reason for the Powder taking fire in the Gun, and the only Way of accounting for it is that it is most probable they omitted putting a Wad after the Powder; for it being put in would have prevented any bad consequence from the end of the Ramrod striking fire by repeated Strokes at the Bottom of the Chamber, which it could not have possibly done if the Wad had been in. However, the Men who were about the Gun declare that the Wad was put in.

14*th*. A Gallivat[1] arrived from Bombay with a Packet the Contents of which is not yet known.

16*th*. Being apprehensive of the Consequence of Fire breaking out amongst the Number of Small Straw Hutts between my Quarters and the Magazine in the King's Bastion, I have ordered them to be pulled down to-morrow.

17*th*. I called upon Col. Pearse and spoke to him about the Hardship Mr Hamilton suffered by being superseded by several other Cadets. I also mentioned to him to get Capt. Elliott appointed to the 4th Company of Artillery if the Command should become Vacant by the resignation of Capt. Duff, who talks of going home on account of the very bad state of his Health. He promised me that he would do everything in his Power to recommend Capt. Elliot to that Command when vacant.

18*th*. This morning when Capt. Hoggan delivered me the Report of the Main Guard he told me that he was Sorry to observe that he was excluded from all Invitations and neglected on every Occasion. I told him that he could not well expect anything else, nor any Man who never came to my House except upon Duty, which was really the case with him, and which I could not help considering as very disrespectful Behaviour in any Officer under my Command, who never had paid me a Single Visit for near Two Years. He acknowledg'd it to be true, and I ask'd him the Reason he behaved in that manner. He replied that he thought himself slighted by one of my Family, and that he thought I had been offended at some part of his Conduct. I assured him I was not, and then he said he hoped I would look over what was pass'd and I answered by all Means.

20*th*. The 11th and 19th Battns. of Sepoys are

[1] A galley, or war boat with oars, and of small draught (Hobson Jobson).

ordered to march to Couch Beyhar to relieve the 1st and 6th Battns., the 21st to Monghyr to relieve the 20th and the 10th to Dinapore. The Off reckonings of the Light Infantry—2nd, 7th, 11th, and 24th Battns. of Sepoys—to be thrown into the General Fund; and no Batta allowed the 7th Battn. stationed at Chittagong.

21*st*. Sunday. Spent the day at Mr Ellis's Garden. A large French Ship fell down the River for Europe. She came this last voyage from France to Pondicherry in three Months and Two days.

22*nd*. Mr Broadbent who was reduced by the Sentence of a General Court Martial, is restored to his Rank as Lieutenant of Infantry.

Captain Macpherson writes: Nov. 23rd. The Europeans having made a very bad use of the indulgence granted two men of a Company going daily into Calcutta, the Colonel has ordered all Port Liberty to be stopped for 15 days.

24*th*. Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker has issued in orders a Publick invitation to all Gentlemen of the Army at the Presidency to a Ball and Supper on the 10th of December.

25*th*. We are informed that Col. Chapman is expected here in a day or two. I am summoned to appear as an Evidence at the Qr. Sessions on the 27th inst., on a Trial of Mr Jno Petry confined for killing Mr Rochford in a Duel.

27*th*. Col. Chapman arrived this evening. The Court of QR. Sessions assembled this day, and the Grand Jury brought in a Bill against Mr Petre for Manslaughter in the Affair of Mr Rochford—the Trial to commence on Monday morning.

28*th, Sunday*. A Salute of 13 guns was fired this Morning at Sunrise on account of Col. Chapman's arrival.

29*th*. The Col. went to visit Col. Chapman. Mr Petre's Trial came on at 9 oclock and continued in

examining the Evidences till ½ an hour past 4, when the matter was laid before the Petty Jury and they went out of Court and returned in a few Minutes and brought in their Verdict Not Guilty, and the Prisoner was releas'd with Great Joy of his Friends.

30*th*. Capt. Gabriel Harper has this day resigned the Service, and Capt. Fullerton appointed to the Command of his Battalion. Lt. Col. Wilding is arrived from Chunargur.

December 1*st*. The Colonel observed this Morning that there was no Field Officer out with the 1st Battn. at Exercise, he therefore desired me to speak to Col. Wilding on the subject to acquaint him that he always expected to see a Field Officer with the Battn. on Field Days, which I accordingly did.

2*nd*. The 1st Battn. of the Regiment is ordered to furnish a Party to go on board the Minerva Armed Vessell to prevent the Exportation of Grain.

4*th*. The Dolphin Man of War, commanded by Capt. Johnston, sails this day or to-morrow for Madras. A Salute is to be fired as she passes the different Forts.

6*th*. A Mistake having been committed in the Orders of the 30th Nov., wherein it is said that Capt. Harper has been granted leave to resign the Service, this Error is now Rectified, Capt. Harper having only requested Permission to resign the Command of the 19th Battn. of Sepoys which is hereby Granted, and Capt. Fullerton's Appointment to the Command of the 19th Battn. confirmed.

Colonel Champion writes: Dec. 7*th*. Capt. William Roberts resigned the Service this day. I wrote to Mr Motte to request that he would send down as soon as possible all the Diamonds he had purchased for me, as I had some thoughts of returning to Europe this Season.

8*th*. I wrote to Mr Barwell at Dacca on the Subject of Barraset House, giving him to under-

stand that I cannot pay the charges of Repairs amounting to 5000 Rupees, and that I will either pay the above Sum for Repairs and let the House be sold, or let him have it entirely and he himself answer for the Charges.

9th. This day I dined at Mr Ellis's Garden House where Col. Galliez also was, and agreed to give Twenty Thousand Rupees to make up the sum of Eighty Thousand, which was the amount fixed by Col. Chapman to resign the Service. I said I would give Fifty Thousand, and that I imagined Col. Ironside would give the other Ten. However, Col. Chapman coming at that Time, I told him that everything would be got ready agreeable to his own proposal. He replied that whenever the Money was agreed upon and fixed he would immediately go to the Governor and acquaint him of his Intentions of Resigning and returning to England this Season. This morning I called at Col. Ironside's but not finding him at Home wrote to him as follows—viz.: "Dear Colonel, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Col. Chapman's Resignation will soon take place—I believe on Monday next,—and as he intends to depart on board the *Egmont*, he has desired the Sum agreed on between us be paid immediately, which I have promised. You intimated at Mr Graham's that you had not Cash and to avoid as much as possible your Name being publick on occasion, I shall pay your proportion and you will please at your Leisure to fill up the inclosed Bond in my Name, payable in 12 Months from the 25th inst. I remain, Dear Colonel, &c.

A. C."

[Dated Calcutta, Dec. 10th, 1773.]

To the foregoing letter he returned a very extraordinary answer, of which the following is a Copy: "The Grove, Dec. 10th, 1773. Dear Sir,—

I am concerned that a Sprain, which confined me to my Room, should have prevented me from seeing you this Morning. It was not from want of Regard to you that I declined returning a Reply to the proposal communicated to me by your concurrence through Capt. Browne, but because I thought a Subject of that Nature ought not to be agitated by any Substitute whatever. Since it has been renewed to me by yourself, I could have wished for a little longer Time than a few Hours to consider of it. Tho' my scanty circumstances can ill afford the Payment of 10,000 Rupees, yet the Sum is not my Objection. From the Censure the Directors passed upon the Sale of Powell's and another Company in the Deccan, there is the justest Reason to expect their Severe Resentment at the application of a Bargain to so high a Rank. Secrecy, it may be said, will obviate this. But the Design, my dear Colonel, is already Publick, and were it not so I see too much of Bengal to suppose it can remain a Month concealed. Already I have heard it from Quarters far distant from Calcutta and from One no longer ago than last Night, as I will show you when we meet. There are People enough who will write it home with every addition they can Invent to aggravate the Injury to the Service, and you must be sensible how many of my Juniors would be glad of such advantage to remove me out of their Way. To you and Col. Galliez dismission is of little consequence, for you are both independent. To me it is Ruin without Resource.

"In a point, therefore, where the Event may be so fatal to me you will give me leave, I hope, to consult—not the Governor—but my Friend, Mr Hastings. I shall write to him directly, and on his Answer send you my decisive Reply. Whether that be an Assent or the Contrary, I flatter myself it will not occasion any Diminution in your Regard,

as there is no one can be more ready at all times to oblige you consistent with his Security in the Service than, Dear Sir, Your very faithful humble Servant, Gilbert Ironside."

However, he this Evening wrote to me that he was ready to pay the Ten thousand Rupees; and at the General's Ball this night I told Col. Chapman the Money was ready to be paid him whenever he pleased, to which he made no reply, but rather seemed Surprised.

The Detachment of Sepoys under the Command of Lt. Col. Goddard, is ordered to march into Chitpore Cantonments. Having considered the distressed Situation the Supernumerary Havildars and Naicks must be in, if they are discharged the Service without some provision being made for them, as many of them are Old Men and in a manner unacquainted with any other Manner of Living, from being in the Army for 10 or 12 years, I therefore ordered them to be appointed to the several Battalions as Supernumeraries till they can be provided for by the Vacancies which may happen which are to be filled up by them.

11*th*. I acquainted Mr Hastings with everything that had pass'd, and he approv'd much of the Scheme and so did Mr Graham and several other Gentlemen of the Council. This evening I supp'd at Colonel Ironside's, when everything was confirm'd in regard to his proportion of the Sum to be paid.

12*th*. The following orders were issued this day: "The Honble. the Court of Directors having appointed Lt. Col. Matthew Leslie to Execute the Office of Quarter Master General to the Troops on this Establishment, he is to be obeyed accordingly.

"The President and Council have judged it necessary to issue the following Orders for the Direction of the Q.M.G. and Information of the

Army. In Time of Tranquility the Quarter Master General's Duty being reduced within a very small Sphere, it therefore properly exists in Time of War only, and the following regulations relate principally to the Operations which may be carried on in the Field, without the Provinces. . . .

"When the Army is in the Field the Quarter Master General shall be allowed an Assistant when necessary, and Persons to act as Guides.

"The Quarter Master General shall therefore provide Guides to conduct the Lines, Artillery, and Baggage when the Army marches, and to all Detachments and Outposts that may require them.

"The Quarter Master General shall have a Guard in the Field.

"The Quarter Master General will receive the Parole from Head Quarters in the Field; in Garrison from the Town Major.

"The Quarter Master General will receive his Orders from the Commander in Chief, and execute whatever regards the Marches of the Army.

"He will give to each Officer Commanding a Division or Column a Copy such Orders as relate to him. He will march to the New Encampment and distribute the Ground according to the Instructions he has received from the General or Commanding Officer, and mark it out to be Occupied by the Army delivering it over to the Respective Quarter Masters.

"He will visit the Avenues to the Camp, Reconnoitre the Ground and Country round about it, and get from the Inhabitants an exact Information and insert it in his Report he makes to the General or Commanding Officer he receives his Orders from, for the March of the Army in the Manner the General intends they should be Executed.

"He will make himself thoroughly acquainted

with the Roads leading to the Enemies' Encampment, that he may be Enabled to report the same when called upon.

"The Condition of the Camp Equipage of the Army shall be regularly reported to him.

"The Quarter Master General will inform himself of the different Stations of the Troops, that he may be Enabled to make out and issue the proper March Routes to Occasional Detachments from One Post to Another.

"When the Troops are out of the Company's Provinces the Q.M.G. will make himself acquainted with the most eligible Situations for forming Magazines, that he may be able to report it to the Commanding Officer when called upon.

"The Buildings at Barrampore and Dinapore being established Barracks and not Cantonments do not come under the Inspection of the Q.M.G.; whenever Temporary Cantonments are to be Constructed the Q.M.G. shall have the Inspection of those Works.

"The Boat Department, the Provision of Elephants, Camels, draft and Carriage Bullocks being contracted for, the Q.M.G. has no further Controul over these Departments than adjusting the necessary Preparations on Occasions of Service, and judging of their Sufficiency or otherwise, of which he Shall make Reports to the Commanding Officer.

"The Governor and Council have been pleas'd to fix the Pay of Q.M.G. at 8 Sonat [1] Rupees P. Day; Batta, that of Lt. Colonel; but not to be drawn in a double Capacity; and the Allowances the same as that of the late Q.M.G., while the Country remains in Tranquility and the Army within the Provinces.

[1] Or *sanwat* rupee. It had only 165 grains of silver against 174 grains in the sikka rupee (Hobson Jobson).

"Monthly Allowance to a Quarter Master General.

Writer	60 rupees.
Sircar	40 ,,
Munshee	50 ,,
Stationery	60 ,,
2 Horses	60 ,, "

This Morning I went to the Fortifications at Budge Budge.

Colonel Champion's Journal ends, Captain Macpherson's Journal continues :—

Dec. 10th. This evening the General gave a Ball at the New Bungalow to the Gentlemen and Ladies at Calcutta.

14*th.* Mr Simmons is removed from the Brigade and appointed Surgeon to the Station of Buxar.

Mr Lambert being expected from Fayzabad, a Salute of 13 Guns is ordered to be in readiness to be fired on his arrival.

20*th.* This day a Salute of 9 guns was ordered to be in readiness for the Election of a New Mayor.

21*st.* Lt. Col. Cummings has been appointed to command the Troops in Cooch Beyhar at a time when no service could be performed, and having remained in that Station during the Rainy Season the Governor thinks it is but Justice to that Officer to continue him in his present Command, notwithstanding the Troops of a different Brigade are employed in that Service. The Governor is pleased to make this Publick Declaration of his Motives for deviation on this occasion from the Prescribed Line, that it may be known to be his fixed Intention of adhering to the Regular Order of the Service unless in very Particular Cases, in which the Necessity of the Service or Justice to Individuals shall induce him to depart from it.

The Governor and Council have this day in orders

censured the Members of the General Court Martial, now sitting at Barrumpore, for having altered the Charge against one of the Prisoners, without explaining the Cause of Such Procedure in the Face of the Proceedings and therefore considered as illegal.

Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker having resigned his Commission in the Honble. Company's Service, Col. Chapman is appointed Commander in Chief of all the Forces under this Presidency, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors is known, and he is ordered to be obeyed as such.

The President and Council have been pleased to promote Lieut. Col. Hugh Grant to the Rank of Colonel of Infantry, and appointed him to the Command of the 3rd Regiment.

Lt. Col. Sempill, Captains Burrington, Cockerell, Dunbar, and Lt. Davy having requested Permission to resign, the Governor and Council have been pleased to grant the Same.

A Salute of 15 Guns to be in readiness to be fired on Col. Chapman's return to the Presidency. Banderolls [1] to be placed at the Government House to give the signal for firing the same.

24*th*. James Anderson, Private Soldier, sentenced by General Court Martial to run the Gauntlet through the 1st Battn. of the Regiment for the scandalous Crime of theft.

25*th*. This being Christmas Day a Salute of 21 Guns was fired at Sunrise, and all the Gentlemen of the Settlement went to pay their respects to the Governor at Breakfast.

29*th*. The Colonel received a letter from Major Auchmuty at Barrampore representing the extraordinary behaviour of Captains Patton and Bowles, who are Members of a General Court Martial, in

[1] Small flags or streamers (French).

refusing to attend the Field of Exercise, after the Proceedings of the Court were sent to the Presidency to be approved of. In consequence of which he went to the Governor and acquainted him with the Circumstances, and orders were sent away this night to Col. Upton to put them both in arrest for disobedience of Orders.

30*th*. A Salute of 13 Guns to be fired immediately on Col. Chapman having taken his Seat at the Board.

1774. *January* 1*st*. A Salute of 21 Guns was fired this Morning to Welcome in the New Year. Captain Patrick Duff being to return to Europe on account of a bad state of Health, applied to the Colonel for a Certificate of his Good Behaviour, which he very readily granted him.

3*rd*. Last night the Colonel received an answer from Mr Motte to his letter of the 7th ult. in which he acquaints him that all the money he had received of him was invested in Diamonds (except the 10,000 Rupees from Col. Upton), but that he could not find an opportunity of sending them to Calcutta. The receipt of this letter gave the Colonel a great deal of uneasiness as Mr Motte had promised when we left Benares that his Diamonds should be sent down with Mr Hastings and Vansittart's in the Month of October, which would enable the Colonel to send them home by the first Ships of this Season.

The Colonel wrote Mr Motte immediately to send his Diamonds to Col. Tottingham at Dinapore, and to purchase Diamonds with 10,000 Rupees received from Col. Upton. The Colonel also wrote to Col. Tottingham to beg that he would receive the Diamonds and send them to Calcutta by the first safe Hands. Col. Chapman gave his Letter of Resignation to the Board this morning, but he is to keep the Appearance of the Command till the Ship sails.

5th. The Barrack Mastership of Monghyr is annulled and Capt. Naylor ordered to join his Corps. Lt. Roberts is appointed Persian Interpreter to the Commander in Chief. There not being Sufficient Room for 4 Battalions at Chitpore, one Battalion is ordered to Canton at Budge Budge.

8th. The Colonel went to the Governor to speak to him upon the subject of Col. Upton's letter, and he seemed entirely of opinion that Captains Patton and Bowles being sensible of their Error, fully answered the end of bringing them to a Court Martial and approved of the Matter's not being carried any further, in consequence of which the Colonel wrote to Lt. Col. Upton that he was satisfied with the concessions of Captains Patton and Bowles, and both he and Major Auchmuty being so also he was willing the Matter should drop. At the same time desired Col. Upton to acquaint them that they might Expect no Lenity in the like case hereafter. The Governor proposed to the Colonel through the Fort Major that a Captain should be sent to command the 6 Companies at Purnea, as the service was too important for a Subaltern, but this will be sending a Captain to Command 300 and odd men and leaving his Battalion in which there are at present above 500. The Colonel therefore disapproved of the Plan and spoke to the Governor about it, who also was sensible of the impropriety of sending a Captain, and the Colonel observed to him that it would be better to send a whole Battalion at once. The Governor acquiesced and said he would order one.

Yesterday received the news that Sujah Dowla had taken Etawa, which belonged to the Marattoes, and that Nazif Khawn, upon the Part of the King, had attacked Agra and got possession of the Town, and it was expected that in 3 or 4 days more the Citadel would be given up.

As the Colonel expects to go up the Country soon he despatched Raja Godin Ram to Benaris, with directions to employ News Writers at the Nabob's Encampment, Nazif Khawn's, &c., and to send down all the Intelligence he could.

10*th*. The British King, Indiaman, is so leaky and Old that the Board have thought proper to dismiss her the Service, which prevents the Egmont being despatched this day as part of the cargo of the British King must be sent on board of her.

11*th*. The Colonel desired Capt. Kyd to propose to the Governor that a Detachment be sent from Barrampore to relieve the 6 Companies at Purnea, which he has acquiesced to and prefers to sending a Battalion from here.

13*th*. Last night The Jealous Wife was acted. The Masons marched in procession from the Court House to the Play House, and this Evening all the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Settlement are invited by them to a Ball and Supper at the Bungalow on the Esplanade. All the Masons marched in procession from the Government house to the Bungalow. A number of French and Dutch Masons joined the Procession.

The Paymaster having represented that the Sepoy Captains had drawn full Batta for their Battalions for the whole month of December, notwithstanding they marched into Cantonments at Chitpore upon the 11th, an Order was Issued for full Batta to be drawn to the 15th inclusive only. Ensign Groves obtained the Governor's Permission to proceed to the Malabar Coast.

14*th*. The Colonel received the following letter from Capt. Davies who was on his March with a Detachment to Barrampore :—

"To Colonel Alexander Champion, Commanding the 1st Brigade at Fort William. Sir,—Soon after my arrival here I received accounts of a Budgerow

Hoisting French Colours, Arm'd with 16 Sepoys and a Serjeant, coming on this side of the River, and by Force seizing a Boat in which was a sick European, three Stand of Arms, and much Baggage belonging to the Men under the Charge of a Sepoy and carrying her away to Chandernagore. This being a Circumstance of so Serious and Extraordinary a nature that I have as yet only ordered Lt. Patterson to wait on the Chief of Chandernagore to demand back the European and everything that has been taken away, as well as the Reason for such a Proceeding.

"Three Englishmen, very good-looking Men, are just come into Camp and desired to be inlisted for Soldiers. Upon Enquiry I find that they were Trapann'd [1] at Amsterdam, put on board a Dutch Ship and used very ill, a circumstance I have not the least doubt of, and have therefore given them Permission to remain with the Detachment untill I receive Orders relative to them.

"I have wrote the Hon. the Governor acquainting him with these Circumstances, and that I shall await his Orders at Nya Serai, the place I purpose marching to To-morrow Morning.

"I am, Sir, with Great Respect, Your Most Obedient Humble Servt., William Davies, Captain Commanding a Detachment on their March to Barrampore. Camp at Mullick ka Baug, Janry. 12th, 1774."

Jany. 18*th.* This day the following Order was issued :—

"G.O. Col. Charles Chapman having resigned his Commission in the Honble. Company's Service, Colonel Alexander Champion is appointed Commander in Chief of all the Forces under this Presidency till the pleasure of the Court of Directors is known and he is to be obeyed as Such.

[1] Taken by stratagem.

"The President and Council have been pleased to promote Lt. Col. Primrose Galliez to the Rank of Lieut. Col. of Infantry till the pleasure of the Court of Directors is known, and appoint him to command the 2nd Regiment.

"Lt. Col. Ironside is appointed to the 1st Brigade and to the Command of the Troops in the Garrison of Fort William in the Room of Col. Champion.

"A Salute of 15 Guns to be fired on the departure of Col. Chapman for Europe. A Salute of 15 Guns to be fired on the Return of Col. Champion from Budge Budge."

This day Col. Chapman left Calcutta and dined at Mr Ellis's Garden House on his way down. Col. Champion's Child, Alexander, aged about 3 Years and 1 Month, who is to go Home in the Egmont, was also carried out to Mr Ellis's Garden. He is a fine promising Child and I think he will go boldly through the fatigues of the Voyage.

19*th*. Col. Champion, Mr Graham, and Mr Lawrell, with some other gentlemen, accompanied Col. Chapman to Budge Budge, where we Dined and Supped. Then Col. Chapman embark'd on the Yacht for the Egmont and the other Gentlemen on board their Budgerows to return with the Tide.

This Day the following Orders were issued :—

"G.O. A Salute of 13 Guns to be fired on the Commander in Chief's taking his Seat at the Board. Capt. Wm. Denman is appointed to act as Brigade Major to the 1st Brigade in the Absence of Capt. Carter. Lieut. R. E. Roberts is appointed Persian Interpreter to Col. Champion, Commdr. in Chief under the Presidency."

Orders by Col. Alexr. Champion, Commander in Chief :—

"Captains Allan Macpherson and Edward Shuvin are appointed Aid de Camps to the Commdr. in Chief under the Presidency, and Ensn. John Murray,

Secretary, and all Orders issued through them are to be Obey'd.

"All Reports and Returns of this Brigade and Troops in the Garrison of Fort William to be made to Lt. Col. Ironside. A Salute of 13 Guns to be fir'd to-morrow Morning on the Departure of Col. Galliez."

This Evening Col. Galliez in taking his Leave of the Colonel, requested as a particular favour that Capt. Conway and Lieut. Sands might be removed to the 2nd Brigade as he wish'd to appoint the first his Aid de Camp and the other to be also in his Family. He then called me aside and desir'd I would put the Colonel in Mind of putting them in Orders in the Morning.

The Colonel wrote a note to Mr Grinbar (Buxy) [1] to get the Commander in Chief's House in Town White Washed, but the Chit was returned with a Verbal answer to send it again the next day.

21*st*. The Following Orders were issued this day:—

"G.O. Major Green is appointed Commissioner of Stores at the Presidency and he is to be obey'd as such.

"Captain Wm. Elliot is removed to the Command of the 4th Company of Artillery, vacant by the Resignation of Capt. Patk. Duff.

"Lieut. Sands having requested permission to resign the Post of Chaplain to the 1st Brigade, his request is granted, and Capt. Thos. Pinnyng is appointed Chaplain to the 1st Brigade in his Place."

In Consequence of Col. Galliez' application last night, Capt. Conway and Lieut. Sands are appoint'd to the 2nd Brigade. The Col. being desirous of doing something for Capt. Pinnyng, he applied to the Governor to have him appointed Chaplain in

[1] Paymaster.

the Room of Lieut. Sands, and he is accordingly in this day's Orders appointed.

[A copy-book of letters issued by Captain Macpherson from 21st January to 7th April 1774 shows that he was with the Commander-in-Chief at Fort William till 21st February, and at Benares in March. During this period letters and returns are received by the Commander-in-Chief from all the Bengal Detachments. Captain Macpherson's replies are addressed to Colonel Hugh Grant, Commanding the Troops at Berrampore; Lieut.-Colonel Tottingham at Dinapore; Captain James Crawford, commanding the 5th Battalion Sepoys at Beerbuhm; Lieut.-Colonel Upton, commanding a Division of the Brigade at Burrampore; Lieut.-Colonel G. Muir at Chunagarh; Captain Peter Grant at Buxar; Captain James Burnett of the Artillery; Lieut.-Colonel Ironside, commanding the 1st Brigade at Fort William; Colonel Galliez, or officer commanding 2nd Brigade; Ensign Archibald Edmonstone; Lieutenant James Low at Patna; Captain Dellafield, commanding 2nd Brigade; Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq., President and Governor of Fort William; Lieutenant William Duncan, commanding a detachment of the 1st Brigade at Fort William; Captain Bickerton, or officer commanding at Mongheir; Captain Naylor at Mongheir; Captain Thomas Smith, commanding 8th Battalion Sepoys on the March to Benares; Lieutenant Patrick Hay, commanding 2 Companies of Sepoys at Raja Gautt; Ensign Thos. Ford of the Light Infantry in camp with 2nd Brigade; Lieutenant John Charles Livingstone; Captain Toone (about a return of the "1st Black Cavalry"); Captain Kilpatrick, Brigade-Major, 2nd Brigade; Captain W. Denman, Major Brigade to the 1st Regiment (*sic*); Captain William Jones, Major Brigade to the 3rd Brigade; Daniel Campbell, Esq. (about the rank of Mr Peter Smith, Surgeon in the 2nd Brigade); Captain Robert Kyd, Town Major of Fort William; Captain St Mayaffir, Deputy Commissary, Grand Magazine, at Patna; Captain Robert Paton, A.D.C. to the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq.; Lieut.-Colonel Cummings, Cooch Behar; Lieutenant James Redman of Artillery.]

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROHILLA CAMPAIGN, 1774.

The Rohilla Campaign. Captain Macpherson's Journal, 6th March to 13th July 1774. The treatment of the Rohillas made a charge against Hastings. Strachey's 'Hastings and the Rohilla War' the chief authority. March from Benares, 7th March. At Mindee Ghat, on the 20th March, the Commander-in-Chief "in a violent passion" because of misunderstandings about boats. Army arrives at Bilgram, 31st March. Nawab and his army join the English force at Shahabad on 15th April. Letters from Hafiz Rahmat. Skirmishes on 20th to 22nd. The Nawab's troops set fire to villages. Battle of Miranpur Katra on 23rd. Defeat and death of Hafiz Rahmat. Want of courage of the Wazir. Casualty lists. Despatch and General Order of the Commander-in-Chief. Pilibit Fort. Bareilly. Camp at Bisauli, 10th June. Plundering by the Nawab's troops. The Board disallow the Commander-in-Chief's proposal as to prize money. Journal ends early in July, when Captain Macpherson leaves Bisauli. Letters written by Faiz Ullah Khan to Dewan Kali Charan offering presents for Colonel Champion, and by the Dewan refusing them. Lists of plunder taken by the Vizier. Harsh treatment by the Wazir of the families of Hafiz Rahmat and Dundi Khan. Questions put by the Governor-General to Captain Macpherson about the treatment of the families of these chiefs, and Captain Macpherson's answers. Sir John Strachey's judgment on the policy and conduct of the Rohilla War, and some comments thereon. Colonel P. Innes's opinion of Champion.

[At the end of February 1774, Captain Macpherson leaves Calcutta with Colonel Alexander Champion, Commander-in-Chief, who is sent by Warren Hastings to enforce the demands of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh against the Rohillas. Hamilton tells that the Rohillas were adventurers who came into India towards the end of the seventeenth century from Roh, a district in Eastern Afghanistan. They settled in the tract

then called Katehr, and afterwards called Rohilkhand, which lies east of the Ganges between Oudh and the Kumaon Range of the Himalayas. This tract, says Hamilton, has a mean length from north to south of 180 miles and a greatest breadth of about 90 miles, or, as Strachey says, of 12,000 square miles, now including six British districts and the State of Rampur, which is ruled to-day by a descendant and representative of Faizulla Khan, one of the Rohilla Chiefs of the time of Hastings. Hastings's treatment of the Rohillas was the subject of one of the charges brought against him in the House of Commons in 1786. The charge was not supported by Pitt, the Prime Minister, and it was negatived. The most accessible account of the policy and conduct of the Rohilla campaign, and probably in the general judgment of the present time the chief authority, is Sir John Strachey's 'Hastings and the Rohilla War.' At the end of this chapter the editor of these Journals will offer some remarks on Strachey's judgment of Colonel Champion. Colonel Champion's force consisted of a company of Artillery, the 2nd European Regiment, the "Select Picquet" of about 100 cadets, 6 Battalions of Sepoys and Sepoy Grenadiers—probably about 5000 men. The allied army of the Wazir is said to have numbered 100,000 men, but, Strachey says, nothing certain is known of its strength and composition.

Strachey writes: "Colonel Champion's powers were strictly confined (by Hastings) to the military conduct of the expedition. He was instructed that on all points but such as immediately respect the operations in the field, the Vizier is solely empowered to prescribe. Hastings preferred to trust to Middleton, the Resident, the management of all political relations, and he remained with the Vizier throughout the campaign. This was very distasteful to Col. Champion, who also was dissatisfied that he did not receive the rank of Brigadier-General. He assumed the Command with feelings far from cordial towards Hastings, towards the Vizier, or towards Middleton."]

Captain Allan Macpherson's Journal, 6th March to 13th July 1774, telling of the March to Rohilkhand and of the Campaign.

[A note below [1] may be consulted in regard to names of Rohilla Chiefs mentioned in the Journal.]

March 6th. I arrived this evening at Banaris.

7th. Making preparations for marching to-morrow. The Colonel this day gave Ensign Jno. Murray, his Secretary, charge of the Daucks [*i.e.*, the correspondence] which, I confess, surprised me as I had them for about 3 years before.

An order was issued this day for holding a General Court Martial in Camp for the Trial of Lt. James Redman of the Artillery confined by Capt. Roach.

8th. We left Moorwaddy and began our march by going to Mr Motte's Bunglow, where we remained till the Evening, and then sett out for Samey Surray, where we Encamped to the N.E., and Capt. Burns's Battalion with 4 pieces of Cannon to the S.E.

9th. From Samey Surray to Jellalpore, 9 Causs. We Encamped on the Bank of the Sey Nulla—

[1] Hamilton gives genealogical details of the Rohilla families as follows (pp. 25, 32, 35, 166, &c.). His spelling of names is kept. Two brothers, Afghan adventurers, named Shah Alum and Husein Khan, settled in Kuttaher (the old name of Rohilcund) in 1673. Shah Alum had sons, Daood Khan, Rahmut Khan (who became Hâfiz Rahmut), and others. Daood Khan's younger son, Alee Mahummed, was the founder of the independence of the Afghans in Rohilcund. He left sons, Abdoola Khan, Fyzoola Khan, Sydoola Khan, Mahummed Yar, Allah Yar, and Murtroza Khan. Husein Khan had sons, Niamat Khan, Doondee Khan, and Sillabut Khan. Doondee Khan had sons, Mahboola Khan, Fittee Oolee Khan, and Azeemoola Khan. When Alee Mahummed died in 1749 he made Rahmut Khan guardian (Hafiz) to his children, and joined with him Doondee Khan. Niamat Khan and Sillabat Khan he made Assistant Ministers. He also made Futté Khan Khansaman or Steward, and Sirdar Khan to be Buxy, or Paymaster—both (apparently) to act under the guardians. Futteh Khan was succeeded in his office by his son Ahmed Khan, and Sirdar Khan in his office by his son, also called Ahmed Khan.

near the Bridge. This morning sent back one elephant and one camel to Mr Motte for 2 Tents for the Colonel, which are to be sent up with Capt. Smith, who is marching from Dinapore with his Battn. I wrote to Capt. Smith to apply to Col. Muir for ammunition to complete his Battalion to 20 Rounds per man.

Yesterday the Two 18-pounders arrived from Chunargarh, but no Gin having been left to hoist them out of the Boats, they were ordered back to proceed by water to Cawnpore. I wrote to Col. Galliez, by order of the Commr. in Chief to halt the Troops every 5th day till the rear closes up.

March 10*th*. To Buxa, 9 Causs. Four Causs from Poolpore you pass through part of the Suburbs of Juanpore, leaving the Bridge upon the Right hand. From there to Buxa the road is in general pretty good. You pass through a Causs of jungle. The Foudgedar of Juanpore came here to meet the Commr.-in-Chief. At night we found it extremely cold.

11*th*. To Budlapore, 5 Causs. The Country all the way is covered with long Grass and Jungle, and must be bad marching in the rains. Here we came up with the 2nd Brigade. We Breakfasted with Col. Galliez.

[Break in Journal.]

March 22*nd*. From Tuckia to Nannamow Ghautt, on the Ganges, 7½ Causs. We marched this morning at ½ past 2 and arrived at our ground at 8 oclock. Last night an Officer with a Company of Sepoys was sent to the Gautt to collect our boats for crossing the Detachment, and having collected 8 Boats from a Gaut 2 Causs above this place and 2 boats we found here the Battalion, Guns, and Bazaars pass'd this afternoon. The Road to Nannamow is good, but very little shelter from the sun.

23rd. To Syderabad 4 Causs. The Colonel despatched 2 Shooter[1] Sawers [camel riders] to the Vizier, who is Encamped at Coury Gunge, 70 Causs. *24th.* To Fattypore and Miaka sarai. After you pass this village about ¼ of a Causs, the Road to Kinnouge leads to the N.W. This Ancient Capital is about a short causs off, but it's now but a heap of Ruins and not worth seeing. At Fattypore there is a very strong mud Fort. This is said to be the place at which Sheer Shaw [Sher Shah] gained a Complete Victory over Humain [Humáyun] when the latter was forced to swim the Ganges to save his life.

25th. To Khodaigunge, 6 Causs. Jellalabad, 1 causs from Fattypore, is walled round, and the Marratoes had 2000 Horse generally stationed here. Plenty of Well Water and Topes to the East. Kodaigunge is on the Banks of the Cally Nuddy, which is pretty Deep. A good Serai here. Here a Battle was fought between Nawal Roy, commanding the Vizier's Troops, and Amid Cawn, Nabob of Fereoughabad [Farakhabad], in which the Vizier was defeated and Nawal Roy killed.

[1750—see Hamilton, p. 101.]

26th. To about a causs to the N.E. of Feroughabad, 9 causs. The Nabob Muzzaffri Jung being with the Vizier at Kouria Gunge, about 40 causs off, Rushan Khawn, an adopted son of Amid Cawn, came to Akooti Gunge to meet the Colonel. This morning the Colonel received 4 letters from the Vizier, almost all on the same subject, that the Roheelahs were to the number of 20,000 collected under Haffis Rahomed, and that it was expected they would attempt to Harass the Brigade on their march, and recommending the Colonel to Halt the Troops at Sundee till he joined with his own Army, which would be immediately after he had an inter-

[1] Shutur, a camel.

view with His Majesty who was then upon his way down. He also desired the Colonel would order a Bridge to be thrown across the Ganges of the Boats at Mindy Gautt for that purpose.

This circumstance determined the Colonel to lose no time in returning to join the Army at Mindee Gautt, where 100 Boats were ready with platforms for crossing the Guns, &c.

This evening the Biggham [Begam], Muzaffri Jung's Mother, sent her compliments to the Colonel with some Rose water, &c., and was offended that Rushan Khawn was apply'd [to] for any assistance when she was the proper person, the City [being] under her Command in the absence of her son, the Nabob.

I sent one Mutasuddy[1] and 10 Hircarahs to Shaw Jehanpore for intelligence of the Roheelahs, and ordered that two should be sent to me from there immediately, and the Mutasuddy, with the others, to proceed to Haffies's Encampment and send me the daily news by Hircarahs who were to be placed at each 6 or 7 causs.

27*th*. Marched at 2 A.M., and came to our ground to E. of Biramabad at 8 oclock—distance 11½ causs. I sent 2 Hircarahs to Mindee Gautt to order the Boats to be got in readiness for crossing the Detachment. They returned at 10 P.M. and informed that all the Boats were at Radge [Raj] Gautt, 2½ causs Above Mindee Gautt. The Colonel being asleep, I ordered the Hircarahs to conduct the Line to Radge Gautt, abreast of Kinnouge. I acquainted the Colonel with the Situation of the Boats and he approved of the Orders I had given.

28*th*. We marched at half past 12 last night and arrived at Radge Gautt at ¼ before 4 A.M. The Boats were all made fast on the opposite side of the

[1] Accountant, or clerk.

River, the Bank on the Kinnouge side being High. The Colonel was displeased that they were not ready and Gautts cut for Embarking the Guns, &c. We called to the people to bring their Boats across, and the first who arrived was asked where the Choudry or Darogha was. He replied he was gone to Mindee Gautt with 7 large Boats, having been informed the Detachment should cross there. They also informed us that an Officer was gone past with 15 Boats from Feroughabad. The Colonel then ordered the Hircarahs back to lead the Battalion to Mindee Gautt. I told him it was 2½ causs out of the road to Bilgram. However, it had no effect and we went away for that place, the road to which is very bad, over Broken ground and Gullies, and on our arrival there we found no other Boats except the 15 from Feroughabad, and not a single platform upon any of them. The Darogha of the Vizier's boats came down in a small Boat to meet the Commander in Chief who was then in a Violent passion, but the only remedy we had was to send to the Village, from whence they brought a few doors which formed a platform for one Boat for crossing the Guns and Tumbrills. In short, the Detachment was not arrived at their Encampment before 12 oclock, and they might have been Encamped at 6 if we had crossed at Radge Gautt. We were then at a loss, for our Hircarahs were not acquainted with the road. I rode 2 causs to Look at it myself, and sent people to examine all the way to Bilgram.

29th. We marched at 2 A.M. and arrived at Bilgram, distance 7 causs.

31st. The Army arrived to the N.E. of Bilgram this morning. The Sepoy Picquets are advanced this evening. The Battalions of Sepoys are ordered to take post in the Line according to their numbers.

The Occurrences of Fort William from the 8th

to the 15th inst. arrived this day containing many new Regulations. A complaint made that the Carriage Bullocks are in general very bad.

April 1st. This day delivered the Office of Adjutant General to Major Hannay. The Artillery Store boats are ordered to proceed to Kinnouge. *2nd.* A Report is received here that the Roheelahs are assembling about Birreilly,[1] and intend making force[d] marches to attack us before the Nabob's Army joins. This report is without foundation for I have a letter from the Roheelah Camp this night, mentioning that they will march in a few days from Birreilly to the N.W.ward towards Aawlah. In consequence of the first Report the Picquet is kept under arms a great part of the night.

The General Court Martial have acquitted Lt. Redman of Artillery on the charge of Capt. Roach.

[Break in Journal. The Nawab Wazir joined Colonel Champion's force with his army near Shahabad, in the present Shahjehanpur district. He had demanded payment from Hafiz Rahmat of the sums due to him, but Hafiz's replies, says Strachey, "afforded no basis for negotiation even if there had been any desire on the part of the Vizier for amicable arrangement."]

April 15th. This morning arrived at Shawbad. The Nabob's Army encamped between our Rear and Shawbad, except Boussant [Basant Ali, the Nawab's General], who was nearly in line with our left flank with 7 Battalions. The Roheelah Villages on the other side of the Gurra. Soon after we came to the Ground the Vizier sent 600 or 700 of his Cavalry to burn and plunder the Rohilla Villages, and we presently had a most wretched prospect of a number of defenceless Villages in flames and

[1] Strachey says that Bareilly was the principal city in Rohilkhand, but Pilibhit was Hafiz's favourite residence.

the helpless inhabitants flying for Shelter to the Jungles.

16*th April*. The Army Halts. The Vizier's Horsemen continue to Burn the Villages. About 10 oclock the Nabob came to the Banks of the Gurra where the Colonel was fishing, and advised that the Beldars be ordered to make a Gautt to cross the Nullah as he wish'd the Army to march next morning across the Country. The Colonel went to return the Vizier's first Visit with his interpreter only.

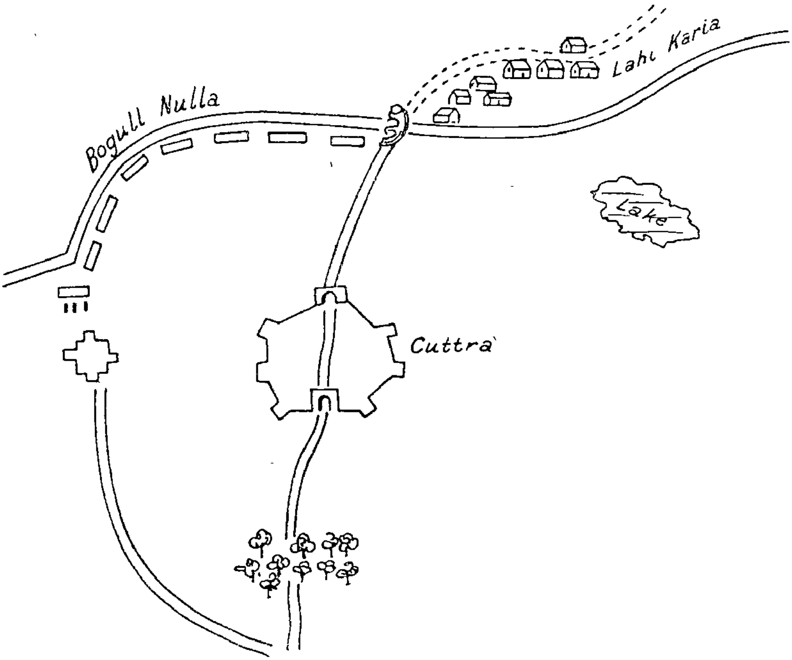
17*th*. The Army crossed the Gurra at day-break. We marched through an open country as follows: The Vizier's army in two Columns upon the right and left and the English Army in one Column in the centre and came to our Ground about 9 oclock,—the Vizier's Army still setting fire to the Villages. Several of his gusseras [grass cutters] were wounded yesterday. This evening I had a Hircarah from Hafees's camp at Lahykira, with a letter acquainting me that Amed Cawn Buxy and Amed Cawn the Consumah's son joined Hafees this morning with about 10,000 Horse and foot, and that they are determined to Risk a Battle as the last Effort in defence of their Country.

18*th*. The Army marched to about 3 causs short of Tilher. We are informed that Hafees is encamp'd upon the Bogull Nullah near Lahykira with 25,000 horse and foot.

The Colonel received a letter from Hafees acquainting him with his real inclinations to settle with the Vizier without a Battle, and strongly requested his influence to that effect. I also received a letter from him requesting I would do everything in my power to procure him a satisfactory answer to the above.

19*th*. Halted. We are informed that Hafees has moved all his troops to the North-east side of

the Nulla, and are encamped according to the following plan:—



The current Report is that the Rohilla Army consists of the following numbers:—

A Frenchman in front—Three guns and 2 tumbrills.

Hafees Rahomed Cawn, 14 guns (11 of them very small), 2 Tumbrills, 8000 horse, and 4000 foot—Total 12,000.

Amad Cawn Buxy's two sons, 17 guns, 6000 horse, 2000 foot—8000.

The Consumah's son, Amed Cawn, 3000 horse, 2000 foot—5000.

Fyzoola Cawn, Son of Ally Beg Cawn, 11 guns, 3000 horse and foot—3000.

Total, 45 guns, 2 tumbrils, 20,000 horse, and 8000 foot.

20th. The Army marched at daylight—the Vizier's Army formed the Right and left Columns and ours the Centre—our Route nearly North by West to the Banks of the Gurra. At 10 A.M. we encamped with our Rear to the Gurra. From a Village intended for the Right flank about 100 fellows with Bows and Arrows and some matchlocks came out and attacked the Troops of Cavalry, which the Colonel received from the Vizier for his Body-guard. The Troop retreated, notwithstanding Lt. Bruce was up and offered to Lead them on and Ride down the Enemy. One man of the Troop was shot with an arrow and fell to the ground and was killed. I came up at this time and did all in my power to Rally them, but to no purpose except a few bold fellows who followed the Russaldar. One of the Jamadars also was killed in this Skirmish and three or four men Wounded.

The Nabob this Evening acquainted the Colonel that the Strong Situation in which the Enemy was encamped made it necessary that they should endeavour to get them by some Stratagem to quit it, and he proposed to march towards Philibit, which he was sure would draw them out as all their Women, Children, Riches, &c., were lodged in that Place. The Colonel did everything in his power to dissuade him from a Course which he thought so improper, but all to no purpose. The Order of March was therefore issued and Gauts ordered to be made across the Gurrah.

April 21st. At daylight crossed the Gurrah at different Gauts over a heavy sand of near a Mile Broad, and about 1½ causs farther on crossed the —— Nulla with high Banks. Came to our ground at about 11 oclock on the Banks of the Gurrah, with our right towards Minzilla, where there is a Strong Mud Fort and Numbers of Arm'd Men in it, and Keeria Village in Front of our left Flank full of

People. I gave them 2 sepoys for their Protection, but the Moment the Nabob's troops arrived they crowded into the Village and plundered it, after which they set fire to it. The wretched Inhabitants, with the two Sepoys, were obliged to retire into the Fort. The Nabob's troops also, like unmerciful Villains, set fire to the large village of Sootea with 200 Rajapoots and their families, and put Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, except nine Women whom they carried to the Nabob, who set them at liberty. The Rajapoots deserted the Fort. Some of our plundering rascals going too near Meuna, a Mud Fort full of people on the west side of the Gurrah, were killed, for which I give them great Credit. They also killed four of the Nabob's Sepoys who were endeavouring to force their Gate.

The people who possessed those Forts were only Inhabitants of different Villages who assembled to secure themselves from the Pindarees of the Army, and not any part of Hafeez's Troops, which made the Commander in Chief put all possible Stop to their being ill-used or meddled with; but the Countenance that the Nabob showed his own Troops and followers baffled all our Endeavours, and there is nothing to be seen Round but Villages in Flames and the poor Inhabitants treated with the utmost Cruelty, notwithstanding the Commander in Chief represented to him the Reflection such Behaviour threw on the English Army, who were always reckoned remarkable for their Humanity and protection to a Conquered Enemy. The Vizier repeatedly promised to put a Stop to such proceedings, but his promises on this, as on almost every other Occasion, were little to be Depended upon. In the evening, to our great Astonishment, he sent to the Commander in Chief to acquaint him that he could not March To-morrow as his People were too much Fatigued. The Colonel acquiesced with the greatest Reluctance. Hircarahs from the Enemy's

Camp inform us that the Whole Army has march'd and taken up Ground on the Bogull Nullah about 2½ causs from their former Encampment, with their Right towards Lahikeri Bridge.

April 22nd. The Army halted. The Nabob's Horse had several skirmishes with the Enemy's Horse.

The Nabob came to the Colonel this morning at 7 o'clock and again at one, and the Colonel went to his Tent in the Evening, when he agreed, tho' with some Reluctance, to attack the Enemy in the Morning. Our Army follow'd by Bussent's Battalions to begin the attack, and he would also send the Najib Fultan [1] and 2000 Horse with us and follow with his whole Army. When the Commr. in Chief returned to his own Tent, Bussent and Lattyfat waited upon him to receive their Instructions for the Attack as follows: the first, with his 5 Battns., to march immediately in our Rear and fall in upon our left on forming the Line of Battle—Lattyfat to divide the Najib Fultan (consisting of about 8000 Men), and one half to form a Column upon each Flank of the Line, and upon coming near the Enemy to take such Villages as might be upon our Right or Left. The Colonel also gave Col. Galliez every particular for attack, and that the Troops should be under Arms by 3 A.M. and ready to march half an hour after,—no Gun to be fired or Drums beat except the Taps as a signal for Turning out. All the Baggage to be lodged in the Mud Fort in the Rear of the Right Flank, and not even Palanquins suffer'd to go on with us.

April 23rd. The Troops were under Arms at 3 oclock agreeable to Orders, but the Night being very dark and the Sand very heavy we had difficulty in crossing the Nullah and getting the Guns over, but soon after we got to a very good Road and

[1] The Corps of Najib—*i.e.* of men of good family. Generally armed with sword and matchlock.

passed the Village and Fort of Jelalpore about Sunrise, and at 7.30 came in sight of the Enemy's Encampment. The Line not being up close to the Grenadiers the Commr. in Chief ordered to halt till it should join, and that Division of the Najeeb Faltan on our Left Flank to take post in a Village on a rising Ground in their Front. He desired me to Ride to the Top of the Eminence and bring him an Account of what they were about in the Enemy's Line. I accordingly went and could see them very plain in great Confusion and endeavouring to form. They seemed to be entirely taken by Surprise, and I believe that had it not been for the Halt before mentioned, we might have pushed up to the Encampment before they had Time to put themselves in Posture of Defence. The moment the Line closed up the Commr. in Chief came up to where I was and gave immediate orders for the Line of Battle to form by running with the Right Flank towards the Bogull Nullah nearly parallel to the Angle of the left Flank of their Encampment, which Major Hannay, who commanded the Grenadiers, perform'd with great Alacrity and Steadiness, for the Enemy at this Time began to annoy us with their Artillery and Rockets. The Najeeb Fultan moved up in front of the Village and fired their Guns upon the Enemy's Line, which at this Time appear'd very formidable, and so nearly as I could guess about 600 yards off. Our Guns open'd upon them precisely 10 minutes before 8, and our Line extended from the Nullah to the Front of the Village where the Najeeb Fultan were before posted, and that Corps were order'd to move to the left, which they did with more regularity than could be expected, and the Commr. in Chief, observing a Body of the Enemy appearing to the right of the Line on the Opposite side of the Nullah, ordered the three Battalions of Sepoys upon the Left of the Regiment to face to the Right and

form a second Line; and upon Bussent's 5 Battalions coming up they formed on the left of the Regiment, which made our Line very extensive and formidable. By this time the Cannonade began very warm on both sides, and the Enemy's Rocketèers advanced in broken ground in our Front. Orders were then given for the Line to advance slowly, which order I went with to the right of the Grenadiers, and Major Hannay and myself observing a Large Body of the Enemy get under the Cover of the Banks of the Nullah, we desired a Body of the Najeeb Fultan, with 400 of the Nabob's Cavalry, to move up and dislodge them. However, this they declined, and the Major desired me to ride back to the Commr. in Chief and request that he would order a Battalion from the Rear line to perform the duty refused by these Vagabonds. I accordingly went, and the Battalion was order'd immediately agreeable to his desire; and Capt. Ironside march'd upon this Service and took up the very Ground before Occupied by the Nabob's Cavalry and Najeeb Fultan, and after firing a few Shots marched boldly up and dislodged the Enemy from the Strong Post and pursued them close. Many of them were killed by the fire from the Battalion. At this time the Enemy's Rockets and Cannon-balls were flying very fast about our Line and they made many bold Efforts to charge us, but our Artillery was so well served that they were as often repulsed.

The Commander in Chief, seeing that Capt. Ironside's Battn. was advancing too far, sent orders for them to return to the Line, and sent me to give assistance in getting them back; but the Men were by this Time so anxious in pursuit of the Enemy that they paid little attention to the Orders of their Officers or mine. . . . They were at last with difficulty brought back to the Line. . . . The Enemy's Rockets were doing great damage, and

a Battery of 4 guns beyond the Nullah, which enfiladed the Grenadiers, became very troublesome, and the left of the Line was engaged with Small Arms, upon which the Commr. in Chief ordered the Line to move briskly up, our Artillery playing at the same time, which struck the Enemy with so much Terror that they began to retreat in great Confusion, and left their Tents standing with a great number of Colours. At the time the Front Line began to Charge, the Battalions of the Rear Line crossed the Nullah and bravely charged the Troops in possession of the Battery and obliged them to retreat with great precipitation, leaving their Guns loaded upon the Ground. The Nabob's Cavalry, who kept in our Rear during the Action, pursued the Enemy with great Alacrity for the sake of plunder . . . so that our Forces obtained the Glory and they the advantages.

The retreat of the Enemy was so precipitate that the Commr. in Chief ordered our Army to halt in the Vanquished Encampment Exactly at 20 minutes past 10 oclock, so that the Action lasted near 2½ hours. It's with pleasure I can declare that I never saw Troops behave with more Steadiness, cheerfulness, and resolution than upon this Occasion—both Officers and Men showing the greatest readiness in executing the Orders delivered to them. Bassent's 5 Battalions, from the good example given them by the Regiment (immediately upon their right), behaved with remarkable steadiness and bravery. Indeed more than could be expected from Troops who had no European Officer at their Head.

I am now come to take notice of the great coolness and activity of our Commr. in Chief, who showed himself at the Head of every part of the Line where his presence seemed most required, and gave his orders distinct, plain, and with great Ease to every officer about him, which enabled them to deliver

them with the same exactness. In short, from the Commr. in Chief to the Private Soldier, every Man gave the greatest Satisfaction.

It is to be remark'd with astonishment that the Vizier, Suja-ul-Dowlah, remained with above ⅔rds of his Army near the Village where the Baggage was lodged, about 7 Miles distant from the Field of Battle, and did not stir from thence till he received the News of the Victory, and then came up like a brave Fellow. This Circumstance is so glaring an Instance to prove his Want of Courage that I will not say any more upon the Subject, further than that I am convinced that if our Troops had not been in the Field with his Army he dared not show his Face to the Rohillas, or attempt to Fight them, for they are a steady, resolute, brave sett of Men. A few Hours after the Action was over, Haffeez Rahmit Khawn's Head was brought to him by a Man who found him lying Dead in the Field and severed the Head from the Body.

The Vizier rejoiced at the sight of the Head of a Man who[m] he had not Courage to face when living, and taking the head by the beard showed it in Triumph to the Spectators.[1]

In the afternoon the Vizier sent Col. Champion an elephant with a Flag of State in token of the Victory he had gained, but the other Returned it,

[1] Strachey says that the one virtue which friend and foe alike attributed to Shuja-ud-Daula was personal courage, and that he was not the contemptible coward and villain of Burke and Mill and Macaulay. He quotes Francklin, who says that it was mainly owing to Shuja-ud-Daula's skill and courage that the victory of Panipat was gained. Strachey continues: "The official Returns of killed and wounded seem to make it probable that the Vizier's Infantry took a larger share in the Action than might be supposed from Col. Champion's Despatch, for while the loss of the Company's English and Native Troops was 132, that of the Troops of the Vizier, not including his Cavalry, for which there is no Return, was 254." Captain Macpherson's Journal states, however, that the Wazir, with two-thirds of his Army, remained seven miles distant from the Field of Battle till he received News of the Victory.

as is customary on these Occasions, and begged his acceptance of the Country he had gained for him.

Hircarahs inform'd me that several Chiefs of the Enemy took different Roads towards their respective Homes, and that Hafeez was killed in the Field of Battle and two of his Sons missing, and three other Sons, who were also in the Battle, went to Birreillie.

The Army is ordered to halt To-morrow, and Doolies and People sent out to Collect the Enemy's wounded Men.[1]

[Col. Champion's despatch, dated 24th April 1774, describes the battle, which he calls "St George's Field." because it was fought on St George's Day. It is generally known as that of Miranpur Katra.

The despatch and the reply of the Select Committee at Calcutta are reproduced below from the Records of the Govt. of India in the Foreign Department.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECRET SELECT COMMITTEE FROM 13TH JANUARY TO 3RD JUNE 1774.

Monday. FORT WILLIAM, the *9th May* 1774.

At a Consultation present:

The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, *President.*
William Aldersey, Esq.
P. M. Dacres, Esq.
James Lawrell, Esq.
John Graham, Esq.
George Vansittart, Esq.
Nicholas Grueber, Esq.
Mr Goodwin indisposed.

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[1] Hamilton, p. 241, speaks of the "generous and temperate conduct of the British troops. . . . In the close of the action, whilst yet flushed with recent victory, they marched . . . through the Rohilla Camp with all the disciplined coolness and regularity of a Review; not a man offering . . . to seize any part of the spoil which was scattered round them, and on the same evening all the wounded Rohillas, who appeared to be in a curable state, were taken into the English Hospital, and attended with the same care as their own people."

The President lays before the Board the following copy of a letter and enclosures addressed to the Select Committee, which is just arrived from the Commander-in-Chief :—

Colonel Champion's account of the victory over the Rohillas.

To the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, President, &c., Members of the Select Committee.

Gentlemen,—In a letter of the 22nd to the President I gave a full account of the progress of the army from the 19th, the success of the feint made use of to draw the Rohillas out of their post, behind Cuttera, with my resolution of taking the advantage of their movement, and yesterday I had the inexpressible satisfaction of transmitting a short note to the Governor with the news of the victory, of which I am now to give the particulars.

About 3 o'clock in the morning the brigade, with five battalions of the Vizier's regulars and the Najib Fultan, consisting of about 4000 matchlock men, began to cross to the westward side of the Gurra River, and, with much perseverance, dragged the artillery over a broad and heavy sand to the opposite plains.

The armies marched in three columns towards the Babul Nullah, with intentions to have it on our right flank when we should engage. We had proceeded about five miles when our scouting horsemen brought notice that they had descried some of the enemy's cavalry, nor had we advanced half a coss more when I could see their colours, and very little farther before their tents appeared.

My intelligence proved very good, for I soon afterwards clearly observed that we were upon the enemy's left flank, within 1200 yards of which, on a rising ground which had hitherto obstructed our view, was a village and tope which I ordered to be immediately occupied by part of the left column of the matchlock men. This was a post of great importance, and it was a great oversight of the enemy not to have possessed themselves of it, as we might have paid very dear for dislodging of them.

Having led the line about 200 yards beyond this village, we filed off to the right towards the nullah by sub-divisions; and now (about 8 o'clock) the enemy's artillery opened upon us. The compliment was returned by two guns which I had placed on an eminence to amuse them whilst our army was

forming in order of battle. The corps of cadets and sepoy grenadiers led by Major Hannay and three battalions of the brigade sepoys composed the right wing, commanded by Lt.-Col. Leslie; these and the European regiment soon gave a full front to the enemy, and whilst they gradually inclined to the right under a severe cannonade, returned the salute with their guns.

The three remaining battalions of our own sepoys, under the command of Major Eyres, composed a second line, and the two divisions of the Najib Fultan covered the flanks of our army. Whilst we advanced slowly towards the enemy the cannonade on both sides became very smart, and by degrees as the Nabob's regulars, who had marched in the rear of our column, came up, they dressed with the European regiment, and became the left wing in place of the matchlock men, who inclined to the left to give them ground and cover their flank; but this wing was not completely formed till 9 o'clock.

Hafiz and his army, consisting of about 40,000, showed great bravery and resolution, annoying us with their artillery and rockets. They made repeated attempts to charge, but our guns being so much better served than theirs, kept so constant and galling a fire that they could not advance, and when they were closest there was the greatest slaughter. They gave proofs of a good share of military knowledge by showing inclination to force both our flanks at the same time, and endeavouring to call off our attention by a brisk fire on our centre.

They seemed particularly desirous to distress our right flank, and with that view brought four guns and a large quantity of rockets from a considerable distance to enfilade us, at the same time lining the nullah (which could not for some time be observed for long grass) with some of their troops, in order to rush upon us should our right be thrown into confusion.

Perceiving their intention, I directed a few shells to be played upon them, whilst a battalion from our right was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the nullah. The battalion sent on this service soon performed it, and advanced so briskly after the enemy that, fearing lest they should go too far, I ordered the battalion on the right of the second line to support them.

Never was I more fully convinced of the utility of a second line than on this occasion, for in the course of the day I found it necessary to send all the three battalions which formed it to cover the right flank. It is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than the enemy displayed: numerous were their gallant men who advanced and often pitched their colours between both armies, in order to encourage their men to follow them, and it was not till they saw our whole army advancing briskly to charge them, after a severe cannonade of two hours twenty minutes and a smart fire of musketry for some minutes on both flanks, that they fairly turned their backs.

The battalion then formed into separate columns, and with beat of drum and fifes playing the army passed in glory through the Rohilla Camp.

And now came on the after game of the few horse the Nabob sent to the field. No sooner was the enemy irrecoverably broke than they pushed after them, and got much plunder in money, elephants, and camels, &c., &c., &c. Their camp equipage (which was all standing, and proves that we came on them by surprise), with whatever effects they could not carry off, fell a sacrifice to the ravages of the Nabob's people, whilst the Company's troops in regular order in their ranks most justly observed: "We have the honour of the day and these bandits the profit."

I wish I could pay the Vizier any compliment on the occasion, or that I were not under the indispensable necessity of expressing my highest indignation at his shameful pusillanimity—indispensable I say, because it is necessary that the Administration should clearly know how little to be depended upon is this their ally.

The night before the battle I applied to him for some particular pieces of cannon which I thought might prove of great service in action, but he declined giving the use of them; and though the honour of the English arms was called in question by the forward rashness of the enemy in challenging us to battle and abandoning their posts, yet did the Vizier urge me to decline the fight, and make another march on the eastward side of the Gurra towards Pealybeet. Thus would he have inspired the enemy, whose numbers would have been reinforced with near

twelve thousand men hastening under different leaders to their aid.

However, when he found me determined, he promised solemnly to support me with all his force, and particularly engaged to be close at hand with a large body of cavalry to be used as I should direct; but instead of being nigh me he remained beyond the Gurra on the ground which I had left in the morning, surrounded by his cavalry and a corps train of artillery, and did not move from thence till the news of the enemy's defeat reached him.

To this breach of his faith was owing the danger which followed from the enemy's enfilading the right flank of your army, which might have been attended with consequences that I dread to think of, but from the advantage derived of our second line. This, however, was not all; for if his cavalry had been up to have pressed upon the enemy in their flight, they must have made prodigious havock, might have totally disabled them from making head again, and rendering any defence of Pealybeet absolutely impracticable by thinning their numbers, and getting between the remainder of their stronghold.

I have been thus particular with regard to the Vizier's conduct that it may be better known how to deal with him in future.

Of the enemy, above 2000 fell in the field, and amongst them many sirdars; of your army, little more than a hundred and not a single officer. Standards we have taken without number, and above fifty pieces of cannon; but what renders the victory most decisive is the death of Hafiz Rahmut, who was killed whilst bravely rallying his people to battle. One of his sons was also killed; one taken prisoner; a third returned from flight to-day, and is in the hands of Sujah.

I cannot, Gentlemen, better convey to your minds the sense which I have of the conduct of your army on this occasion than by enclosing herewith a copy of my return of thanks signified in the orders of this day. I have to wish that it was in my power most liberally to reward such distinguished gallantry; but since that is not the case, I do most earnestly recommend them to every possible mark of the bounty and favour of Government.

I have only to add that the Gentlemen who showed such

alertness and presence of mind in carrying my orders to the different bodies of the army during the course of the action were Captain Allen M'Pherson, Captain Edward Shewen, Lieutenants William Bruce and Robert Raine, and Ensigns John and Alexander Murray, and that I am with much respect, &c., &c.,[1]

A. CHAMPION.

Camp on the Field of St George,
The *24th April* 1774.

Resolved that the following letter be written to the Commander-in-Chief :—

Letter to Colonel Champion.

To Colonel Alexander Champion,
Commander-in-Chief of the Forces
under this Presidency.

SIR,—The President has communicated to us the particulars of the victory obtained by the troops under your command over the army of the Rohillas.

We cannot on this occasion neglect expressing, as early as possible, the great satisfaction we received in the news, and the high sense we entertain of your abilities and conduct, both in the operations which preceded and in the action itself. So decisive an instance of the superiority of the Company's arms cannot fail of reviving in all its force the reputation they formerly acquired in Indostan, and which ten years of peace had doubtless in some degree weakened in the minds

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[1] A note written by some one at the end of a copy of Colonel Champion's despatch of 24th April 1774, to be found on p. 140 of the Orme MSS., 54, 16-105, in the India Office, is as follows :—

"*N.B.*—The Battalion which dislodged the enemy from the nullah was the 20th, commanded by Capt. Ironside, who was detached so far from the Line that the communication had nearly been cut off by a large body of cavalry. Nothing saved the Battalion but the steadiness and presence of mind of the officers and a brisk fire kept up by the two field pieces (3-pounders) belonging to the Battalion. Neither the officers, however, nor men of this Battalion nor of two others, the 10th and 6th, commanded by Captains Bevan and Delafield, who distinguished themselves, were taken notice of ; while a parcel of Scotch Aid de Camps, retainers to Mr Graham, and who were forced into Col. Champion's family, were recommended for carrying half a dozen orders and messages. What excellent encouragement ! "

of the Princes and of the Country. We are happy to find your resolution and military skill were so well seconded by the valour and discipline of the troops; and while we desire you may receive personally the thanks of the Board for the signal service you have on this occasion performed, we request you may in the like manner convey to the officers, soldiers, and sepoys under your command our sense of their behaviour and of our firm reliance on their courage and discipline on every future occasion.

We are also exceedingly happy to learn from the communications which the President has made to us that you have, in the whole course of the campaign, been so attentive to maintain the strictest order and discipline among the troops, and that you from the beginning opposed and at last obtained a stop to be put to the devastation of the Rohilla country by the army of the Vizier, a mistaken policy altogether incompatible with the design of the war and repugnant to humanity, and we have a sensible pleasure in testifying our entire approbation of your conduct in this respect. Your preserving such steady order and discipline on entering the Rohilla camp after victory equally merits our applause, and it redounds greatly to the honour of our troops that they did not allow themselves on this occasion to be hurried by bad examples into those excesses which are unworthy of regular soldiers, and which we trust will always be the pride of our army to avoid.—We are, &c., &c.

Fort William,
The 9*th May* 1774.]

Captain Macpherson's Journal Continued.

April 24th. One of Hafeez Rahmet's Sons came in and delivered himself up to the Vizier, which I am afraid he will repent. It is reported that his intention was to come to the Commr. in Chief and throw himself on his Mercy, but unfortunately for him he was met by some of the Nabob's People who carried him to him.

Beldars and People were sent out to bury the Dead Bodies upon the Field of Battle, who declared

that they interred about 1500 and an immense Number of Horses and Camels. I afterwards saw myself a great many remaining above Ground. Upon a moderate calculation I do suppose that their killed and wounded exceeded 5000, as the Nabob's cavalry pursued them to Birreillie and showed no mercy to the poor Wretches. The Vizir's cavalry took possession of Birreillie at 10 oclock last Night without the least Opposition.

The Enemy left on the Field of Battle 40 pieces of Cannon, and it is declared by the best accounts that they had above 40,000 Men that day in the Field.

We had wounded, Capt. Baillie of the Artillery and Capt. Lumsdaine of the Grenadiers, but not Mortal. Of the Artillery, 1 Killed and 2 Wounded; of the Regiment, 2 Killed and 15 Wounded; of the Sepoy corps, 22 Killed and 59 Wounded; of Bassunt's 5 Battalions, 30 killed and 72 wounded; of Najeeb Fultan, —— killed and —— wounded. [Numbers not given.] [1]

The following is an Extract of the Orders issued by the Commr. in Chief—viz.: "The Commr. in Chief is so entirely satisfied with the Behaviour of the Troops yesterday, that Words cannot sufficiently express his Approbation. He is at a Loss to say whether the Cheerfulness and Attention of his Brave Officers or the undaunted Steadiness of the Soldiers claims most applause. Capt. Baillie and

[1] Corrected figures appended to Colonel Champion's despatch are: 2nd Company of Artillery, 9 killed and 11 wounded; 2nd Regiment, 3 killed and 14 wounded; Sepoy Corps Grenadiers, 11 killed and 12 wounded, including 1 officer wounded; 8th, 10th, 15th, 16th, 18th, and 20th Battalions, 16 killed and 56 wounded—Total: killed 39, and wounded 93. H.E. the Nawab's troops: infantry, 80 killed and 174 wounded. No return for cavalry. Rounds of gun and howitzer ammunition fired: rounds, 12-pounders, 90; 6-pounders, 441; 3-pounders, 506; grape 6-pounders, 40; 3-pounders, 25; shells, 5½-inch, 18. Taken: 27 brass and iron guns of different calibres.

the Gentlemen of his Corps in the Service of the Artillery gave great Satisfaction, as did the Alacrity and distinctness of the Officers employed in Distributing Orders. To the Whole Army the Commr. in Chief gives the fullest measure of his Thanks, and will with much pleasure commend them to the Administration. Particular Pains to be taken in explaining this Order to the Native Troops."

It's resolv'd that the Army shall march towards Peelebeet, and on the fall of that Place go into Cantonments at Birreillie as the Weather is Excessive Hot.

25th. The Army marched this Morning at half past three. We came to our ground near Poorpouley at ½ past 10, nearly 7 coss. The Nabob's Troops and followers continued to pass till after Sunset, which clearly proved to us that there was no Enemy of Consequence before—otherwise he and the Dastardly Cowards would have kept as far in the Rear as they did in the Day of Battle; but now their Pursuit was after Plunder. The Commr. in Chief wrote to the Vizier his Displeasure at the Manner in which his Army had marched this Morning, and desired that he would in future keep them in the Rear, or order them so far in Front as to prevent their crowding upon our Line. I myself proposed to the Colonel not to Suffer the Nabob to march in our front. However, the above Letter was sent and the Vizier requested that he might march tomorrow with his Troops, and that he would then halt for two days till we should get past him, to which the Colonel consented. Yesterday I had a horse Died in consequence of the Fatigue he underwent the day before. I think it is but reasonable that the Company, or the Vizir, should reimburse me for this Loss, as has been heretofore customed in this Service. I will therefore present a Bill for his Value at all Events.

April 26th. The Army halts. A Hircarah came from Peelebeet and acquainted me that the Place was Evacuated by all the Rohilla Troops, and that 2 Companies of the Nujeeb Fultan took possession of Haffiez's Zinnana in which there were 7 Sons. Tomtoms were beat and a proclamation published that the above Companies were taking possession upon account of the King, and that the Inhabitants might depend upon every protection if they would remain quiet. The Colonel ordered me to send Col. Galliez a Duffadar and 12 Moguls.

I accordingly sent them with a letter. In the Evening I received a letter from Capt. Thos. Conway, Aid de Camp of Col. Galliez, as follows—viz.: "Col. Galliez Directs me to return the Duffadar and Troopers sent to him, and desires you will acquaint the Commr. in Chief that if they are sent as a Compliment he cannot possibly think of keeping them, but if the Commr. in Chief should think them absolutely requisite for the good of the Service, he then shall take them, though he cannot suppose this to be the Case, otherwise they would have been sent before this, the principal part of the Service of the Campaign being now over."

Col. Champion directed that Col. Galliez shd. be informed that the Duffadar and troopers are sent to him for the Good of the Service, and as a Compliment also.

April 27th. The Army marched Due North to Joollerhai, 7½ causs.

28*th.* The Army marched to Peelebeet—the Nabob about a Mile in our Rear. The Commr. in Chief issued orders that no one shall enter the Fort without an order from him or the Nabob. Any one acting in Disobedience of this Order will be punished with Death. Two Subaltern officers and 2 Companies of Sepoy Grenadiers to take possession of two of the Gates of Peelebeet.

The Commr. in Chief sent to the Vizier to acquaint him that he would, upon the Part of the English send officers to examine the Treasury [of Pilibit], and that he should send others on his own Part. The Vizier came immediately to the Colonel's Tent, and seemed much surprised and offended at this proposal. He said that he was at a great Expense in paying the Brigade, and had agreed to pay the Company 40 lakhs of rupees for putting him in possession of the Rohilla Country, and that he thought nothing else should be expected from him. Pains were then taken to explain to him that the King of England had always given up to his troops whatever money or property was found in conquered places. After some time Lt. Col. Leslie, Major Hannay, and Ensign J. Murray were sent to search for the Treasure supposed to be in the Fort, with two Men belonging to the Vizier. They returned in the evening, but what they found I have not heard.

29th. Hafeez Rahomed's sons sent to complain of the Guard of the Vizier's Troops over them and the Zinnana, that they were growing very Insolent and even threatening to go into their women's Apartments, and that they, the sons, could not even get Water to drink.

30th. The Brigade marched 5 causs towards Birreilly. This day, about 12 oclock, 45 covered Hackeries, with Hafees's women and Children and those of his four sons who were with them, past our Tents from the Fort and, as we are informed, are ordered to Lucknow, but I am very much afraid their destiny is very uncertain.

The Nabob's Sepoys, I believe by his orders, plundered every man who carried arms for Haffees. Particularly an old Jemadar who informed Lt. Bruce that . . . he expected nothing better than his wife and daughter being torn from his arms

and dishonoured. . . . Women and children in utmost distress for common subsistence in the Fort, and will not be permitted to go abroad to beg. Haffees's family of Women were put within six old cannottes [side walls of tents] in two old Tents and obliged to sleep upon the ground without even a sattrinjee [a kind of carpet], and the four sons in one small Tent in the same Situation, which shows how little we ought to depend or trust to the Vain Pomp of this World, for this unfortunate family eight days ago were possessed of a fine Country, a Husband, and a father, with every Luxury that they could wish or think of, and in Two hours and a half lost their all with their liberty, and are now at the mercy of their most inveterate Enemy, who will most certainly destroy the Race of Haffies.

May 1st. March'd 6½ causs to the bank of the —— Nullah. The country open and the road very good. Haffies's Women and sons carried in Hackeries with a Guard round them.

2nd. March'd and encamp'd on the Banks of the Nucktiah nullah. The Vizier's Bigham [Begum] sent Haffies Rahomed's Bigham a pallanquin to ride in; and the Sons came upon two Elephants, but the sepoys took a few horses they had from them.

3rd. Marched at 3 this morning and encamped about a causs to the westward of Birreillie. Looked for high ground for Cantonment but to no purpose, the Ground being very Low.

4th. The Vizier came to the Colonel and pointed out the necessity of marching with the Army to the Neighbourhood of Bissowly in order to settle that Country and prevent Naziff Cawn from interfering, and to canton the Army near the Eaar Wiffadaar, to which the Commr. in Chief agreed.

5th. The Army cross'd the Ramgunga at daylight and encamped about 1½ causs from the River.

The Ramgunga changes its name at some distance below this and is called the Gambery, and empties itself into the Ganges 2 or 3 causs above Kinnouge where the Gurra also joins it. Both these Rivers are Navigable throughout the year.

The Nabob's Darogha came and behaved with great insolence in presuming to find fault with Hd. Qrs. being pitched so near the road the Nabob's Tents were going on. I immediately ordered him to go about his Business, and placed Sentries on the Road to send them another way. The Nabob's artillery were in our front this morning and took possession of the best ground. The Commr. in Chief was very angry, and wrote to desire he would order all his Artillery and Troops to keep in the rear of the English army, which he promised to do.

6th. The Army march'd at 3 oclock this morning and passed Auhlah about 6. As usual the Nabob's artillery and 5 battalions of sepoys and the Frenchmen with their Artillery again in possession of the only Topes on the Banks of a pucka Tank, so that our men were again Encamped on the open plain. I advised to remove the insolent French Vagabonds, but this was not attended to. A Trooper came from the advanced picquet and informed me that the Zamindar of the village near his post told him that a Jamadar of Cavalry, belonging to Bissowly, went to Peepill Village with three Lakhs of rupees, 5 covered Hackeries, about 12 Camels, and a number of Horses. I told the Commr. in Chief, and he desired the Troop to follow them. Major Hannay proposed my going with them and I readily agreed, and the Colonel gave me one of the Companies of his own Guard. Came to Peepil and sent for the Jemadar [Zemindar] and asked if there was not a Jamadar with a Body of Cavalry in the Town.

He replied in the affirmative—that they were about 300 in number, and he had not seen any

Treasure. I sent for the Jamadar and told him of the information we had received, and that I must, in consequence, search the Town for the money. He said that I was very welcome, and that he was ready to lose his head if I would find any more than about 2000 Delhi Rupees, which he had for the support of a large family of women and children. I placed sentries at the doors of the House and compound in possession of the Rohillahs and went with the Jemadar, by name Amid Cawn, the Subadar of the Guard, and two Seapoys into the House, and desired he would remove his women into one Room, which being done, I with the above people searched every place and did not find a rupee, except the sum mentioned by the Jamadar himself, which he desired I would take, and on my declining it he said it was vain to leave the money with him, the Nabob's people would soon have it. I then desired he would send the money to his wife and Children and deliver it to them in my name, and I would endeavour to get protection for them, which he complied with, and his mother-in-law came out and threw herself at my feet and thanked me for a piece of unexpected Generosity they were greatly surprised at. I then went out, after seeing all the people who came with me gone before, and placed two Sentries at the Gate leading to the Zannana, with orders not to suffer any person to rob or plunder these unhappy women. I ordered the five covered hackeries to be left for the women, and sent all the horses I collected and 15 camels out of the town, and gave the Subadar strict orders to suffer none to go into the town or take anything from the Inhabitants. I then carried the Troop with me, and the Jemadar of the Rohillahs, to Head Quarters, and acquainted the Commr. in Chief with the issue of my Journey.

He desired that the Horses and Camels might

be delivered to the proper owner. Amed Cawn, the Jamadar, returned his most grateful thanks, and begged permission to bring his family to our Encampment. The Colonel seemed averse to giving any protection to these poor people for fear of offending the Nabob. However, after some time, I prevailed upon him to grant protection on this occasion, and I desired Amid Cawn to bring his family to camp and that I would give a sentinel, and I sent the Jamadar of Harcarahs with him with instructions. In the evening Amid Cawn came to camp, and I applied to the Colonel to give him a guard, which he granted, and I got hold of four tattoos, which some of the Mogulls had taken, and returned them. In short, he Lost nothing of any Value.

May 7th. The Army march'd this morning at 3 oclock and came to our ground near Bissowly. Distance 7 causs. The Vizier with his Army encamped to the southward of us, and Naziph Cawn, with an Army of about 25,000 men, to the Westward of us.

The town of Bissowly has been plundered by two battalions of the Nabob, and the Nabob, Mahiboolla Cawn, confined in his own house, every moment in expectation of the most Horrid Treatment to his women. Naziph Cawn paid the Commr. in Chief a visit. *May 8th.* Hourly complaints from the Town of the Wretched condition of the unfortunate Rohillahs. I bargained for 3 horses—800 Rs. for each of two, and 500 Rs. for the third, and have trial of them—one for Captain Blane.

May 9th. The Colonel fixed on a spot for the Cantonments. Captain Landeg and I represented to him that there was a very high spot about a mile off, but he would not hear a word of going from that spot, and marked the Ground of the Barracks, which he will repent of as it is very flat.

The Nabob came to the Colonel and acquainted him that he wanted much to chastise the two Battalions which plundered Bissowly, and requested a party of our Troops to carry his orders into execution, as he was determined to Blow a few of them from the Guns. The Colonel gave him six Companies of Grenadiers. He marched them once or twice round the Town of Bissowly without doing the least Execution, and then returned them and went to his Tent. In short, on every occasion he shows the greatest signs of being an arrant Coward.

10*th*. The Vizier ordered the two Battalions mentioned above to be searched and stripped of all their plunder, by which he got a very considerable sum of money, for 300, 400, and 500 Gold Mohurs were found upon the private seapoys.

[Break in Journal.]

June 11*th*. The Colonel ordered me to send Mr Murray, his Secretary, some of the most affecting papers relative to the distressed situation of the families of Haffies, Maheb-oola Cawn, Futty-oola Cawn, &c.

12*th*. This morning a European Grenadier of the 2nd Regt. was shot for desertion. 15*th*. I got into my Bunglow.

16*th*. I applied to the Colonel about Amid Cawn, and he assured me that he would protect him if he came, but that he could not send for [him].

17*th*. It's reported that Fyzoola Cawn is marching towards Patergur to take possession of it before the rains, as his present situation in the hills is very unhealthy. One European deserter arrived from Delhi, sent down by Naziph Cawn. A Squall of Wind and rain so Violent that it Blew down our tents and ruined my Bunglow.

18*th*. Two European deserters brought in from Anoobshihr.

19*th*. I have received a letter from the Dauck Harcarah at Bangermow that Sallarjing confined the Commr. in Chief's Harcarahs stationed with the families of Haffies and Doondy Khawn.

20*th*. Last night we received news that Sumro attacked the Sykes 7 causs to the N.W. of Pannyputt and that they have surrounded him, in consequence of which the King has ordered Naziph Cawn to march to his assistance.

27*th*. This morning the European deserters under sentence of death were brought out to place of Execution, and then cast the dice for their Lives, as one was to suffer. However, the C. in C. pardoned him also. I believe the Vizier requested it as a particular favour, for I saw him at the Colonel's very early this morning.

30*th*. The Commr. in Chief received a letter from the Board highly disapproving of the application he made [? in respect] of the Vast riches which the Nabob found in the Rohillah country, and of the proposal he made for the Troops having a proportion of Donation granted them for the services they rendered the Vizier. In this letter they went so far as to tell him, " We cannot Believe the Vizier found any Riches in proportion to what you write, and we desire you will acquaint the officers under your command that we do not consider them in the smallest degree entitled to any share or proportion of Prize money, or donation, and they are not to Expect it." The Commr. in Chief assembled all the Field Officers of the Brigade and laid this extraordinary letter before them. They were equally astonished and affected at it, and requested the Colonel to acquaint the Board that they would do the utmost in their power to inculcate and maintain subordination in the Troops under their com-

mand, but that they would not, upon any consideration, give up their claim to prize money notwithstanding the Board's letter, which they could not think sufficient to deprive them of their rights as Subjects of Great Britain, and that they would wait for a more favourable opportunity to represent their Grievances.

[In August 1774 the Nawab Vizier made a donation of seven lakhs of rupees to the troops, which, under the directions of Hastings, was placed in deposit until the orders of the Court of Directors should be received. Colonel Champion added to this sum three lakhs more, given to him by the Nawab Vizier as a donation for himself and his officers. Twelve years later the Court of Directors having sanctioned the disbursement, it was one of Lieut.-Colonel Allan Macpherson's last duties in his capacity as Quartermaster-General in Bengal to advise on the mode of paying the Rohilla Donation to the sepoys and to their heirs. A Distribution paper, published in the 'Calcutta Gazette' on 24th May 1787, shows that nett payments included Rs. 105,000 assigned to Colonel Champion, Rs. 14,200 to Colonel Primrose Galliez, Rs. 12,800 to Lieutenant Colonels, Rs. 10,960 to Majors, Rs. 5480 to Captains, Rs. 2740 to Lieutenants and Ensigns, and Rs. 800 to Cadets.]

July 1st. The Colonel told me this forenoon that the Vizier was under great uneasiness in consequence of a letter he received from the Governor, disapproving highly of his very extraordinary behaviour to the family of Haffies. I asked if Maheb-oolla Cawn's family was included. He replied No, for answers to his letters about them could not as yet be received.

[The Journal breaks off a few days later, when Captain Macpherson leaves Bissowly and travels by boat down the Ramgunga to Benares on private business for Colonel Champion. The campaign against the Rohillas ended with the Treaty made at Laldhang in the Garhwal Terai in October with Faiz Ullah Khan, who had become their head after the death of Hafiz Rahmat. By this Treaty Faiz Ullah was

allowed territories, including the city and district of Rampore, which his descendant still holds—Strachey, p. 9.]

[A copy-book of translations of letters received by Colonel Champion and by Dewan Colly Charan (Kali Charan, who was apparently Colonel Champion's Banyan or Agent), from the Nawab Wazir, from Faiz Ullah Khan, Rohilla Chief, and from Nawab Farzand Khan, a Minister to the King of Delhi, contains (among many letters) the following translations of letters written apparently before the Treaty made in October 1774 between the Nawab Wazir and Faiz Ullah Khan.

49. Fyzulla Khawn to
Dewan Colly Churn. Received 15th Shabaan.

"When the General and his Family arrived in my Country, I cast my Eyes upon this, and consequently sent them an Accot. of the usual Complimentary Presents on such Occasions, but the General and his Attendants return'd it with this Message, 'that it was not the Custom of the English Commanders to retain avaricious Desires of this kind.' But the Custom of the People of Indostan is this, when Friends of one Heart meet, such Presents are always sent and thought necessary. I therefore write that as the English are great Chiefs, if they will not agree to my Present, it cannot be helped. But you must do me the favour to accept of my Gift.

"Send me an immediate answer to this Letter, that I may act accordingly. I am always happy in hearing from you."

50. Dewan Colly Charan to
Fyzulla Khawn. 15th Shabaan.

"I have received your Letter on the Subject of the General's having refused your presents and returned them, 'but that I must accept of something.' Oh, my good Sir, if my Master will not receive your Offerings, how is it in my power to comply; yet from this Refusal, you are not to give room to the smallest uneasiness in your Mind, as it is not Presents that constitute friendship, but Union of Hearts."

52. Fyzulla Khawn to
Dewan Colly Churn. Received Shabaan 15.

"I have received your Letter, and it affords me much Pleasure, and what you have wrote is clearly understood.

You write 'As our Master the General has no Wish or Desire, what Power have we who are his Servants to have any.' I plainly comprehend the particulars. But that the English Commanders or you should not have a Wish in your Hearts to receive anything is very surprising. God willing, the Day after To-morrow I will wait on the General to take my Leave, which you will please to make known, and be sure to write often, and rest satisfied that I shall always have a pleasure in receiving your Letters."

51. Fyzulla Khawn to
Colonel Champion. 15th Shabaan.

"When I sent a Note of presents for you and your Family you did not acquiesce, but returned the said Note, and Roy dewan Collichurn, who was disposed to receive my Gift,—he also recanted, and would not agree. From these Circumstances I am fixed in great amazement. The Custom of the People of Indostan is this, That when Hearts are united in Friendship, presents are always the consequence. I wrote particularly on this matter to my Friend Roy Collicharn, in answer to which he writes me 'that in Business where the General and English Commanders have no desire for a Reward, how would he, who is their Servant, express any Wish.' I am therefore helpless. God willing, the day after to-morrow I will arrive before you to take my Leave, and fix my Departure for Rampore, but till I have the pleasure of paying my Respects to you, I hope to be honour'd by your Correspondence, which will afford me real Satisfaction."

Fyzulla Khawn to
Raja Dewan Collichiran. 28th Shabaan.

"The Letter I sent you will have received. Glory to God, I am in good health. Yesterday I arrived at Mustafabad, commonly called Rampore by the merciful kindness of the General and the Nawab Vizier, and I consider you as my true Friend, whose Heart is one with mine; be satisfied, and afford me pleasure by always writing news of your Health, &c."]

Among Capt. Macpherson's papers of this period there is a detailed "List of Plunder taken by Sujah-

ul-Dowlah in the Rohillah Country in the Campaign of 1774, by report of Hircarahs." This list covers 27 large pages, and gives details place by place (Pilibit, Berreilly, Aulah, Bisowly, Moradabad) and family by family of the Rohilla Chiefs. There is also the following note of "Intelligence Relative to His Excellency the Vizier's treatment of the Families of the late Nabobs, Hafiz Rhomit and Doondy Khawn, in their confinement, taken down from the accounts of trusty Hircarahs stationed with those families by order of the Commander in Chief."

Peelebeet, April 30th, 1774. The Vizier sent Sitybisheerkhawn with several eunochs to the Palace of Haffiz, where they searched all the men and women, Stripped them of their Jewels, Gold and Silver ornaments, Clothes, &c., except one suit of clothes each, and then put the Women to the number of near four hundred, including their Maid Servants and Slaves, into forty-five covered Hackiries, and Hafiz's ten sons with six Chelahs, or favorite men Slaves, on Horses and carried them all prisoners to the Nabob's Camp, where the men were put into one Tent and the women into one large Tent and two Paals, or small open Tents, surrounded with some old Cunnottes, but no Settringees, Carpets, or any kind of bedding put into the men or women's Tents, but reduced to the necessity of Sleeping on the ground, without any clothes to cover them except what they wore in the day.

A little after 12 oclock at night four pots of provisions were brought them, but so insufficient for the number of people that they had not above two or three mouthfuls each, and they were equally distressed for water to drink.

In shedding tears of grief and misery they spent the tiresome night, and the lamentable cries of sorrow and affliction brought on the morning.

Exposed to the intense heat of the day and the Scorching winds; Floorcloth they have not to defend them from the burning Sands, nor a Sheet have they to Screen them from the inclement chills of night. The Bigham and daughter of Haffiz are in consequence taken very sick.

May 1*st*. This morning the Vizier's Army march'd, and Haffiz's family were carried prisoners; the horses belonging to the Chelahs taken from them. On coming to the Ground the whole were confined in the same manner as Yesterday, and a small quantity of provisions and water brought them, which rather Excited than Abated their Hunger.

About 12 at night they received four pots with Victuals which they were anxious to eat, but a strong wind blowing at that time their Tents were thrown down, and all their provisions covered with Sand.

A Shower of Rain which then fell wet their clothes. They endeavoured to cover their heads and shelter themselves from the cold with the bedding of the Hackiries; and in that doleful Situation passed the night on the damp earth.

Biseuley, *May* 13*th*. No material Alteration happened in the treatment of this unhappy family Since the 1st inst. The Bigham has been much indisposed with a flux.

This morning she sent the following complaint by a Hircarah:—

That last night the wind and rain Blew down their Cunnottes and one Tent, and no persons being at hand to put them up, almost all the women were obliged to crowd into the one where She was during the Rain. In this situation she catch'd cold, and the flux, of which she was recovering, is again returned, and she is now very ill. That after the rain was over Noor Mahomid Chelah made shift to put up the tent, and some persons passing that

way, pitying their condition, put up the Cunnottes also. The Bigham and the Sons of Hafiz desired the Hircarah to Conclude as follows: "This being our Melancholy Situation, for Godsake have compassion upon us, and give your Assistance in releasing us from this dismal bondage."

May 21*st*. Hafiz Rhomit's family are reported to be in great distress, not supply'd with half provisions, and never changed their clothes since they left Peelebeet, and they have not the least covering for themselves at Night, but sleep in the same rags they have on in the day time. The sons have not even a Turban to their heads.

There are only two common cotts (or bedsteads) allowed the young men who are Sick, and one Cott for the Bigham. When any of the Cunnottes round the women's tents are Blown down the Sepoys are extremely insolent, and do not suffer them to be put up but at their own Time. When any of the women want to drink an old woman brings a beasty [water carrier's] bag to which they generally put their mouths, there being only one small brass pot allowed the whole, and one earthen pot in the necessary. This morning the sons of Hafiz got up to look at the Colonel as he was passing near their Tents, but the Sentries threatened to beat them if they did not immediately sit down.

Biseuley, *May* 22*nd*, 1774. Noor Mahomid, Chelah to the late Hafiz, brought a message from the Sons that they are so closely confin'd that the Colonel's Hircarahs are not permitted to come near them to see or hear their distresses, but that the above Chelah would give an account of their unhappy Situation.

Noor Mahomid then proceeds:—

Mahibilkhawn, from the eating of gram and other unwholesome provisions, has for some days been very Sick and rolling on the ground, but since yes-

terday he is a little better, but Tally Eaarkhawn, Omirrkhawn, Azmitkhawn, and Mahomid Eaarkhawn, his Brothers, are still sick, notwithstanding of which the ten Brothers are confined in one Tent, without a Cunnotte to keep off the hot wind, or dust, or any bedding to sleep on except one small Settringie, and without changing their clothes, or being permitted to call in a barber to Shave their beards or heads since they left Peelebeet, nor can they even go to the necessary but surrounded with fixed Bayonets.

The Charities which the Colonel and other Gentlemen sent them were very acceptable, and their only hopes of being inlarged is from the Colonel and the English, whose Slaves they declare they would willingly be, on condition of being released from their present captivity. A few days ago one Routee, or Small marquee, was added to the large Tent and two paals, in which all the women are confin'd still without carpets, Settringies, or bedding of any kind, but all laying on the ground Except the Bigham, who has the common bedstead already mentioned. They have not changed or washed their clothes since they were taken out of Peelebeet, and they are now covered with vermin. There is one maund of Bread, and thirty seers of boiled meat sent them daily, and about two maunds of different sorts of provisions at night for men, women, Servants, &c., in all near 450 persons.

There is only one jar of water which affords them a very scanty proportion, and owing to this, the short allowance of provisions, the badness of what they receive and their laying on the earth, most of the women are sick. The Bigham continues very ill.

May 24th. The Guard over Hafiz Rhomit's family is increased, and more strict than ever. All the Knives, Scissors, and Beetle nut crackers are taken from the Bigham and the rest of the women,

and the Schoolmaster who attended the Children ordered not to come near them any more.

Biseuley, 25*th May*. The Nabob has ordered Sallarjing to be ready to march with Hafiz Rhomit's family, &c., to Fayzabad.

26*th*. Sallarjing, with the prisoners, marched two Causs from Camp.

27*th*. Yesterday and to-day the prisoners had only some Keetcheree, or dal [pulse] and rice, boil'd in water and eat with Ghee. The Horses or Tatoos belonging to their Chelahs, which were again returned, are allowed no Gram. The Sons of Hafiz Suffer more than ever, there being only one Servant permitted to come near them, and even he with great difficulty.

The Nabob Ebad-ulla-khawn of Shawjahanpore sent a Doolie to Hafiz Rhomit's Bigham to ride in. This evening Mahobullakhawn and Fitulla khawn, sons of the late Nabob Doondykhawn, sent their Akhoond (or Preceptor) to make the following complaint:—

The Vizier at the beginning of the War sent to comfort and inform us that if we should remain quiet at home, and not join Hafiz or himself, he would continue us in possession of our Country. In consequence of this, we acted agreeable to his desire, and now it is plain how far he has adhered to his promise; for he has taken our Country, our Riches, and even our Honour; and, not satisfied with that, he is going to send us prisoners to Fayzabad.

We desire no Country, no Riches, no Houses, but at Biseuley are the Tombs of our Noble Ancestors, near which under some shade we beg permission to spend the remainder of our days as Faqueers.

Biseuley, *May* 27*th*. The Vizier this morning sent Elephants for us which were again Sent back

we suppose by the Colonel's orders, but we are informed they will be sent to carry us away to-morrow, which if the Colonel will prevent we will ever be his Slaves.

May 28th. Mahibulla-khawn, Fit-ulla-khawn, Azeem-Ulla-khawn, sons of Doondy-khawn, and Syfi-Ulla-khawn, son to Mahibullakhawn, were carried away from Biseuley and Delivered over to Sallarjing.

This evening the Nabob sent for Haussin-Reza-khawn, and gave him orders to take with him five old Matrons to-morrow morning at daybreak to the Palaces of Doondy khawn's Bigham and Mahib Ullahkhawn, and there wait till his arrival.

N.B.—Azeem Ullakhawn's family lives in the Bigham's Palace.

Biseuley, *May 29th.* This morning at Sunrise the Vizier, with Elich-khawn, Behar-Ally-khawn, the Bigham's eunoch, Littaffit-Ally-khawn, and another eunoch, went to the above Palaces, where they met Mirza Haussin and the old women. Elichkhawn and Mirza Haussin were left at the outside, and the Nabob, with the Eunochs and old women, went into the Zinnanah, where he ordered them to take all the jewels, gold and Silver ornaments, &c., &c., from every person belonging to those families, taking care to search them in such a manner that nothing should escape. After they had performed this business in his presence with the utmost rigour, the Bullocks were taken out of the Hackeries, which were ready at the door, and the Hackeries, one after another, drawn into the compound of the Zinnanah, and the women put into them as they were Searched, and not allowed to carry a Second Suit of clothes with them.

In this manner one hundred and fifty women were carried in thirty-five covered Hackeries and one doolie to a grove of Mangoe trees at a small distance from the Palace.

The Vizier ordered Bussaunt-Ally-Khawn to get a Battn. of Sepoys and guard the prisoners to Sallarjing, to whom he sent orders to halt till he should hear from him, as he (the Nabob) purposed next morning to search the family of Fit-Ulla-khawn.

His Excellency then went back to sleep at the Palace of Mahib-ulla-khawn, which gave rise to a Report Shocking to humanity, and which had some appearance of truth, tho' it cannot absolutely be confirmed.

The report alluded to is as follows—viz.: That when the women of Mahib-ulla-khawn were sent out of the house, his daughter, about ten or eleven years old, was detained behind, and that when the Nabob Returned to the Palace and went to sleep he took her to bed with him, and soon after sent her to join the rest of that unhappy family in Sallarjing's Camp, and she was sent away with them.

[Major Balfour, quoted by Strachey on p. 219, gave evidence that there was no foundation for such a report.]

During the time that the Hackeries with the women were in the grove, the wife of Azlem-Ulla-Khawn was reduced to such extremities of hunger and other distresses that she sent to the Bazaar for Ophium in hopes of putting an end to a life which became a burden to her, but this relief was denied her, as they could not find any. They then brought a small quantity of dried gram and bread, which she and her children were glad to eat.

When the Hircarahs brought the above account, the following question was put to them. Question: You have remarked that the doors of the Zinnanah were Shut during the Search. In what manner did you become acquainted with those circumstances which passed inside? *Answer:* When the Hackeries

were going along the streets, the women threw up the purdas, and complained loudly in the manner we have now related.

Biseuley, *May* 30*th*. Very early this morning, agreeable to the Vizier's orders, Behar-Ally-Khawn, with twenty old matrons, went to the Palace of Fit-Ulla-khawn, where His Excellency soon followed them, and all the women belonging to that family were searched and stripped of everything in the same manner with those of his Brothers, &c., yesterday, and they were then put into twenty covered Hackeries, and sent to Sallarjing, guarded by two Companies of Sepoys.

June 2*nd*. A Hircarah came from Mahib-Ulla-khawn, and gave the following account—viz.: Yesterday Sallarjing arrived at Aulah with the prisoners in his charge.

Haffiz Rhomit's family and those of his sons . . .	450
Doondy khawn's Bighams Mahib-Ullah-khawn's and Azeemullakhawn's } . . .	150
Fit-Ulla-khawn's	100

Tents in the usual manner were pitched for the family of Haffiz, and one tent for Mahib-Ullah-Khawn, his two Brothers, and son, with a small settringie put into it, large enough for them to sit on, but no bedding. Each of them has on one Ungha or Jacket, a pair of long drawers, a cap, and a sheet of white cloth, which was the only wearing apparel they were suffered to carry out of their houses, not even a Turban to shelter their heads from the heat of the sun or the cold at night. In this manner they lay on the ground without a Cunnotte to keep off the dust, which flew in vast clouds, or prevent their being exposed to every person who chose to insult them, and all inter-

course between them and their women, even by message, was denied. The latter are confined in one large Tent Surrounded With Cannottes.

They beg of the Colonel for the Sake of the Almighty to get them released, and they would ever be his Slaves, and that he might be assured God would be pleased with his good Offices towards them. They hoped their Enemies Should never Suffer equal to their distresses.

[? *June*] 7*th*. I this day received a letter from Mahib-ulla-khawn at Birreilly which nearly corroborates the complaint that unhappy family sent by their Akhoond on May 27th.

July 13*th*. The following account from Allahabad, where the families of Hafiz and Doondykhawn are confined. That the men are confined in Separate Appartments from their women, and not suffered to go near them except very seldom, and then it is with great difficulty they can obtain permission. They are still laying on the Ground without Carpets or Settringies.

At first they were informed that the Nabob ordered one hundred and fifty Rupees a day for the Subsistance of the above families, but that Roshan Khawn, the Commandant of their Guard, had reduced it to half that sum, and even that half so much curtailed by the manner of payment that they had not more than one cake of bread a day to four people, and that they had no other clothes than what they had on when they were taken from their respective homes.

The Commandant of the Guard being asked why he did not give the prisoners their full allowance agreeable to the Vizier's orders, he replyed that the Nabob had not fixed any settled allowance for them, nor had he as yet received any money on their Account, and that what he had given them was in advance out of his own pocket. That he had fre-

quently wrote to his Master on that Subject, but received no Answer.

(signed) AN. MACPHERSON,
Aid De Camp to the Commr. in Chief.

Calcutta, Feby. 3rd, 1775. Delivered a Copy to Col. Champion.

[Strachey, on pp. 306 and 313 of his book 'Hastings and the Rohilla War,' writes that Captain Macpherson was one of the officers to whom Hastings proposed to address questions with regard to the conduct of the Rohilla War, and with regard to the treatment of Rohilla prisoners by the Vizier. He adds that the replies have been lost. The following questions put by the Governor-General in Council and answers are extant among Allan Macpherson's papers :—

QUESTIONS TO BE PROPOSED TO CAPT. MACPHERSON.	CAPT. MACPHERSON'S REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO HIM BY THE HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.
(1) Do you know of any Hircarahs having been placed upon the families of Hafiz Rhamit and Doondy Cawn by order of the Commander in Chief ?	*Answer.*—I do know of Hircarahs having been stationed with those families by order of the late Commander in Chief.
(2) For what purposes were they stationed there ?	*Answer.*—Before we marched from Peelibeet I understood from Col. Champion that Major Hannay and Mr John Murray had mentioned to him that the family of Hafiz was in a miserable condition and ill-treated, in consequence of which the Colonel ordered me to station Hircarahs with them, to bring daily intelligence of their situation and the manner in which they were used ; and Hircarahs were for the same purpose stationed also with the family of Doondy Cawn on or soon after our arrival at Bisouly.
(3) Under whose immediate directions did they act, and to whom did they make their report?	*Answer.*—They were immediately under my orders and made their reports to me.

(4) Could you rely implicitly upon the faith of those Hircarahs?

Answer.—I considered them as good Hircarahs, whose intelligence was to be relied upon as much as that of any of their profession.

(5) What were their names, and where are they?

Answer.—I do not recollect their names particularly. One of them, I think, was called Bassaunt. They were discharged up the country when the Commander in Chief was on his way to the Presidency, and I know nothing of them since.

(6) Did you immediately upon receipt of the intelligence from time to time brought you by these Hircarahs Minute it, and are those minutes to which you have affixed your signature exact copies of those taken at the time, or have they been since revised and methodised by you or any other person?

(Signed J. AURIOL,
Asst. Secretary.)

Answer.—I did minute the intelligence brought me by these Hircarahs, and showed them to the Commander in Chief from time to time. The Minutes have not been methodised anew, but are in the order in which they were taken down, and are precisely the same, with perhaps the choice of a word here and there owing to the hurry in which some parts of them were at first taken down; but I have in no point deviated from the real sense of the original reports made to me by the Hircarahs. I cannot help observing to you, Gentlemen, and with real concern, that the questions which have been asked me carry too much the appearance of a doubt of the veracity of the minutes to which I have put my name. Give me leave to assure you I am not of so accommodating a disposition as to put my signature to a fiction. If any one has suggested an idea to the contrary he has ungenerously done me an injury, and deceived you, and I can with great safety declare to you that if I had gone by the common reports of the Camp, my minutes would appear much more extraordinary and the actions of the late Vizier in a more horrid light than they already do.

[Further questions were sent to Captain Macpherson with a letter from the Assistant Secretary to the Board, dated 9th May 1775, but these and the answers to them are not extant in his papers.]

[Sir John Strachey's Judgments on the Policy and Conduct of the Rohilla War.

Sir John Strachey rejects the invective of Burke in his speeches on the Rohilla War as inspired by the malevolence of Francis; and he condemns the bad faith and partisan spirit of Mill. He attributes the inaccuracies of Macaulay to his acceptance of Burke and Mill as authorities, and the scathing comments on the conduct of the war made by Mr John Morley (in his 'Life of Edmund Burke') to misunderstanding of the facts caused by Mill's suppressions and perversions. Strachey justifies both Hastings and the Nawab Wazir in regard to the policy and objects of the expedition against the Rohillas. With regard to the conduct of the campaign, he admits that in the first week of the hostilities many villages were burned (by the Nawab's troops), and that whatever property could be carried off was plundered. He allows (p. 232 of his 'Hastings and the Rohillas') that Rohilla ladies "suffered much distress from their removal into camp and from the absence of proper arrangement for their comfort and for their maintenance, and that their jewels and personal ornaments were taken from them." He finds, however, that the stories that they were in any case subjected to personal outrage or gross insult are absolutely false, without any vestige of foundation, and after detailed examination of the evidence he finds that "there is not a particle of evidence that any atrocities were committed upon the Rohillas at any time during the war." Hamilton (in his 'History of the Rohilla Afghans,' p. 253), whose account is largely based on Rohilla sources, had, as positively alleged, one hundred years earlier, that he had ascertained no particular of the "alleged ill-usage, unless the inconveniences necessarily attendant upon *confinement* and *removal* are to be termed such."

With regard to the slander cast upon Hastings as being

responsible for "atrocities," Strachey quotes with approval Forrest's summing-up of this matter: "History furnishes no more striking example of the growth and vitality of a slander. The Rohilla atrocities owe their birth to the malignity of Champion and Francis, their growth to the rhetoric of Burke, and their wide diffusion to the brilliancy and pellucid clearness of Macaulay's style."

With great respect for Strachey's analysis and judgment of the case, the editor of these Journals thinks that, in his championship of Hastings, Strachey may have failed to appreciate the feelings of the officers of the Army in regard to the justice of the expedition, in regard to the severities (not to use the word "atrocities") which they witnessed and by their presence assisted, and in regard to their right to share in plunder, if plunder there was to be. Does Strachey fairly write (p. 233 of his book): "If Hastings had not firmly resisted the lust of plunder which pervaded the English Army in Rohilkhand, I fear that it would not be the crimes of the Vizier alone that we should now be discussing?" He himself quotes the testimony of Hamilton to the "generous and temperate character of the British troops, whose characteristic virtues were not more displayed by their gallantry in the late engagement than by their humanity after it." Hamilton expressly states that their behaviour "undoubtedly contributed not only to the reputation of the conquerors, but to the facility of their subsequent success."

With this testimony before him, Strachey's ascription of a "lust of plunder pervading the English Army" reads harshly. It is true that when it was clear that the Nawab Wazir was out for plunder the English army conceived that it had a right to share in the plunder, or to have prize money. Was this, or was it not, a reasonable expectation in accordance with army traditions—in so far as the "plunder" was public treasure?

Are not "prize money" and "gratuity money" still given in our Navy and Army?

That the Army would have committed excesses if Hastings had not "firmly resisted the lust of plunder" appears to be an unnecessary and harsh assumption. Captain Macpherson's Journal shows that it was not until the 30th June that the news of Hastings' disallowance of the proposal for prize money

reached the Army. On the 8th August the Nawab Wazir declared his intention of giving 7 lakhs of prize money. The discontent and grumblings continued; but this was because the Council in Calcutta maintained their prohibition. This prize money, or "Donation Money," in fact, was not divided among the troops till twelve years later. Colonel Champion estimated the Nawab's plunder at 150 lakhs, and Middleton, the Resident, put it at 75 lakhs.

One more point. If Colonel Champion was vain and disappointed because he was not entrusted with the political business of the expedition, is it fair to ascribe to him "malignity"? The day-by-day entries in his A.D.C.'s journals help to clear him from this aspersion.

Colonel Innes writes in his 'History of the Bengal European Regiment,' p. 249:—

"The difficulties with which Col. Champion had to contend are feelingly set forth in his correspondence with the Governor-General, and all credit is due for the masterly moderation displayed in the discharge of duties which, if mismanaged, would have been as ruinous to his military reputation as they were adverse to his feelings as an officer. . . . Col. Champion's services had been entirely with the Bengal European Regiment, of which for many years he had been Adjutant, and he was always held by his Comrades in respect and affection, and few men have done more to maintain the honour of the Bengal European Regiment."]

CHAPTER X.

COLONEL UPTON'S MISSION TO PURANDHAR, 1775. THE MARCH ACROSS INDIA.

Little record of Captain Macpherson's doings from July 1774 to July 1775. His application to be given a command of cavalry under Raja Chet Singh, and General Clavering's reply. Colonel J. Upton's mission to Poona. Captain Macpherson goes with him as Secretary and Persian interpreter. Occasion and objects of the mission. The march across India. Letters and passports through the Vizier's dominions sent in August by Mr John Bristow, Resident at Lucknow. Letters from Nawab Dilawar Khan and Row Adat Roy. On 28th September Colonel Upton is at Mirzapur. 1st to 16th October at Allahabad waiting for escort from Nawab Vizier. Letter from Raja Himmat Bahadur. Culpee, 24th to 31st October. Letters to and from Maratha officers. Arrives at Mooti, 4th November; Narwar, 12th. Joorin Pass, "where the Mahratta districts begin." Seranj, 21st November. Bhopal City. Chipani on the Narbada River. Burhanpur City, 7th December. Letter from Siccaram Bappoo. Nazirabad, Bijapur, Bhurgaun, where the "Nizam's boundaries end." Babulgaun on the Godavery River, Ahmedabad. Kauriganw, where Madan Rao, deputed by the Peshwa's ministers, meets the mission on 23rd December. Arrive Poonadhar, or Poorandhar, 30th December. Colonel Upton receives a letter from Raghunath Rao.

[There is little record of Captain Allan Macpherson's service from July 1774 to July 1775. His friend, Colonel Champion, on retiring from the Bengal Command, went to Europe in March 1775, and writes commending his former A.D.C. to the favour of General Clavering, the new Commander-in-Chief; to Colonel Monson, Mr Francis, and Colonel Stibbert. The three first-named had arrived in Calcutta as new Members of Council. Colonel Champion mentions Captain Macpherson's knowledge of the Persian and "Moors" languages. On 18th April 1775 Captain Macpherson writes from Berhampore to

General Clavering suggesting that he might be recommended to Raja Chet Sing of Benares for command of his military force. He believes that such a nomination would be agreeable to the Raja. General Clavering's autograph reply, dated 23rd April 1775, is as follows :—

CALCUTTA, *April 23rd*, 1775.

"Sir,—You do me strict justice in thinking that I am truely disposed to serve you whenever a favourable opportunity shall offer. The proposal you make of commanding a body of cavalry in the service of Chitsing had already been offered to me by Capt. Lumsdane, and I was obliged to refuse him for the same reason that I am compelled to assign to you. We are of opinion that the Court of Directors have not authorised their servants, nor do I believe legally they can do it, to allow English Officers to serve any foreign Prince. How far policy may render such a measure expedient has has not yet outweighed in our minds the unjustifiableness of an act which has hitherto been practised by the sole authority of the Governor for purposes of his own. The officers in the service of the Vizier have in consequence of a formal resolution been all recalled, and it rests with the Government to determine whether the necessity of the measure should supercede henceforward the impropriety of it without the Company's sanction.

"I believe I need say no more to convince you that the forwarding your wishes in this instance does not depend on me, and that I must seek some other occasion of doing it. I am, Sir, with great truth, your most obedient and humble servt. (Signed) J. CLAVERING."]

THE MISSION TO PURANDHAR, 1775.

[On the 27th of July 1775, Captain Allan Macpherson writes from Calcutta to his cousin James Macpherson in London that he is on the eve of taking a journey overland, "almost to Bombay." This refers to the journey he was about to make with Lieut.-Colonel John Upton to the Bombay Presidency on a mission to the Maratha Government.

Lt.-Col. John Upton was a Captain on 27th July 1764; Major

on 2nd December 1767; Lieut.-Colonel on 2nd October 1769; resigned the service of the Company in ill-health on 13th November 1780 (Dodwell and Miles). A letter written to Allan Macpherson by Captain John M'Intyre in December 1780 tells that Colonel Upton died at Ingelee before he could embark for Europe. He was held in esteem and affection by his brother officers. He stands out in Captain Macpherson's Journals as a high-minded and courteous gentleman.

The chief historical authorities as to the state of affairs of the Bombay Presidency at this time, which induced the Council in Calcutta to send a Mission to the Maratha Court at Poona, are to be found in the "5th Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons," printed in 1782, and in Forrest's 'Selections from State Papers of the Government in India.' Colonel Duff's 'History of the Mahrattas' may also be consulted.

It can only be briefly explained here (following Marshman's 'History,' Vol. i. p. 360) that the Bombay Council in March 1775 made a Treaty with Raghunath Rao, or Raghoba,[1] the ex-Peshwa of the Marathas, whereby he agreed to cede to the Company in perpetuity the Island of Salsette and the Port of Bassein (taken by the Marathas from the Portuguese), on condition that he was supported with troops against the Maratha Regency at Poona. The Bengal Council had recently been invested with the power of controlling the other Presidencies in matters of peace and war; and they unanimously condemned the Treaty as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust." Francis and his colleagues, overruling Hastings, who was at this time in a minority in the Council, further resolved that the Bombay troops supporting Raghoba should be recalled from the field, and that independent negotiations should be opened with the Regency at Poona by a Mission sent from Calcutta. Colonel J. Upton [2] was accordingly sent to Poona to disavow the proceedings of the Bombay Council and to negotiate a Treaty. His mission was regarded

[1] He was known by both names, and both are used indifferently in Captain Macpherson's Journal.

[2] The Governor-General nominated Colonel Alexander Dow for the mission, but the majority of the Council held that Colonel Dow could not be spared from the post of Commissary-General.

by the Bombay Council as an unnecessary and wanton belittlement of their authority.

The Calcutta Council approved Colonel Upton's proposal that his route should be by Allahabad to Calpee, and that from Calpee he should follow the road always taken by the Marathas when coming into the upper parts of Hindustan, and that passes should be obtained from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, from Najif Khan at Delhi, and from the Peshwa of the Maratha State. Colonel Upton was permitted to take with him (on his own nomination) Captain Allan Macpherson of the 1st Regiment as secretary and interpreter; Sutton Bankes, M.D., as surgeon; Captain Benjamin Wroe of the 1st Regiment in general charge of all guards, camp equipage, elephants, camels, stores, &c.—these officers to receive the pay of their ranks with full double batta as if in command without the Provinces. On Colonel Monson's proposal the Rev. Mr Smith was attached to the mission as surveyor, and was authorised to draw the pay and allowances of a Captain of Engineers employed on such surveying service. An escort of two companies of the 18th Battalion of Sepoys, detached from Dinapore, accompanied the mission.

The papers left by Colonel Allan Macpherson with regard to this March and the negotiations at Purandhar are: (1) An Itinerary (without dates) of the "Route from Calpee to Poona"; (2) a Copy-book of Letters in Persian (for the most part translated into English) received chiefly on the march; (3) a Journal written in Persian by his Munshi, Ghulam Ali, beginning at Allahabad in October 1775 and ending at "Poorandur Ghur" on 4th January 1776; (4) a Journal in English in four foolscap volumes written by Captain Macpherson at "Poonahdhur" (as the name is first written), or "Poorandur," and at Poona from 25th December 1775 to 6th March 1777; (5) an Itinerary begun on 7th March 1777 of the "Route from Poona to Ballisore"—that is, of Colonel Upton's Return March by way of Hyderabad in the Deccan, and thence to Cuttack in Orissa and to Balasore. There are also detached papers about the Maratha families, about a Suttee which Captain Macpherson witnessed near Poona, and other matters.

The editor asked Sir William Foster, Historiographer to the India Office, for advice about preparation of a map to show

Colonel Upton's march, and was informed that the original map prepared by the Rev. William Smith, the surveyor of the mission, was in the India Office. He has been permitted by the Secretary of State to have the map photographed for insertion in this book.

The March across India, 1775-76.

[The march made by Colonel Upton across India with a small escort is notable as made through country then unknown to British officers. On 2nd August 1775 Mr John Bristow,[1] Resident at the Court of Nawab Wazir Asof-ud-Daula of Oudh,[2] at Lucknow, sends to Colonel Upton on his way up the country a passport through the Wazir's dominions, and an order addressed to Nawab Saiid Beg Cawn to furnish him with an escort of three companies of sepoys and 100 horse.

A letter from Mr Bristow, dated 9th September 1775, gives an interesting picture of the times. He writes: "I have repeatedly applied to the Nabob for the elephants, but he declares it is absolutely out of his power to spare you a single one. With much difficulty I got ten Camels which are sent to Allahabad. I shall continue my Endeavours, and in case of my not succeeding I shall be glad to know what number of Camels will suffice for the Carriage of your Necessaries. The three Companies of Sepoys are waiting for you at Allahabad. . . . I procured a positive order from the Nabob to give them their full pay and a Month Advance. It is a great chance if it is done. If you find it necessary to pay them anything I will get it refunded. The Troop of Horse is disciplined after the Hindostanny Manner, and, I believe, not arrived; and tho' I pressed the Nabob very urgently, so as to disoblige him once, yet he would not change the whole Troop for 20 Purk[3] Sawars. . . . On your arrival in these Provinces you will know more of the State of this Court.

"I herewith forward to you the copy of a Letter from Delleer Cawn to me and the extract of one from Row Adut

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1 He had succeeded Mr N. Middleton, who was recalled by the majority of the Council.

2 Son of Shuja-ud-Daula, who died in January 1775.

3 ? Troopers of proof, or who have passed a test.

Roy to Shever Cawn. . . . Delleer Cawn's country is at such an immense Distance from here, being near Hyder Ally's, that I find it impossible to make any Inquiries with Accuracy. I never heard of Delleer Cawn before I received his letter. It contains, however, a very extraordinary offer, and if it should lay within your Line, I have done my part by informing him you were going to Poona and desiring him to apply to you. The original Papers I have sent to the Honble. Board, so that I hope there will be time to give you Instructions in case the alliance of this Chief is worthy the Notice of the Company.

"The Rajahs Anoop Gyr and Amrow Gyr are Aumils [officers] of the Doab [the country between the Ganges and the Jamna] and Kalpy. The latter is here at present, and very forward in offering his Services to render your Journey convenient. . . . These Chiefs are disaffected to the Nabob's Government, correspond secretly with the Marrattas, Nudjif Cawn, and other foreign Princes, and only wait the Opportunity of throwing off their Subjection. Amrow Gyr has several times spoke very disrespectfully to me of his Excellency, for which I have always checked him. You would render me an essential service by informing me of what you see relative to the Conduct of these Chiefs, especially respecting the Number of Military they retain and the State of it, the Ammunition they have collected, or, in short, any other matters which you may judge necessary for my information. These Chiefs are the more to be feared by the Nabob, because they have not less than 19,000 men of their own Cast under their Command wholly devoted to their cause.

"We have it strongly reported that Sindeah has faithfully promised to assist the Jauts, who have been a long time at war with Nudjif Cawn. The Rajpoots were also parties concerned against him, but they have concluded a separate peace.

"*PS.*—Any information respecting the Rajas Anoop Gyr and Amrow Gyr will be really interesting, for I expect we shall soon march towards the Doab, and it is the general Opinion that, if the Nabob attempts to use Compulsion to bring them into Order, they will resist, and as His Excellency's Troops are ill-disciplined and his Sardars in general discounted, I think it will be a hard Contest if these Chiefs behave with resolution."

A translation of the letter from the Nawab Deleer Cawn to Mr Bristow runs as follows, after the usual compliments:—

"The Almighty, who is attentive to the whole creation, is particularly so to the Select and Victorious chiefs; therefore I found my heart inclined to establish a chain of friendship by a new correspondence by letters, which is always reckoned half a meeting; and in this I have introduced part of what concerns myself. The case is this, that from the time of Oringzebe and perhaps before, at the time of the Antient Government of Bijapore, the Jurisdiction of Sanwur and Biganwar was in the hands of my forefathers, and in the Reign of Bahadur Shaw they Governed the Subah of Bijahpore.

"The superiority of the Marratoes in all its ways is very conspicuous. Your friend, with twenty thousand Afghans environed by the Vagabonds, supported and Established His Majesty's name.

"Some years ago I was attacked by two very powerful chiefs, Suddaw Siu Rowe and Ballajee Rowe (who are since dead), and supported a war against them for six complete months, and at last reduced them to the necessity of applying for protection and assistance to the Nizam, which they obtained from Hyderabad, upon paying a very large sum of money; then, being helpless, I was obliged to conclude a peace with them. The punishment of this tribe and the Regulating of this country, with the assistance of God and the English chiefs and your countenance, will be effected. With the blessing of God at this lucky time, when the English commanders for the assistance of Ragunoth Rowe are come to the Deccan, your friend who was waiting for some unforeseen Aid, was Gladdened and exalted by their fortunate arrival. Your friend is in universal contention with the Marratoes, and even with Ragunoth Rowe I have no understanding. Chiefs are of old accustomed to assist and take one another by the hand, and from thence proceeds the Regulation and fixed Settlement of the World; therefore I address you that letters according to the enclosed be sent to the English Chiefs who are with Ragunoth Row that these Commanders may direct Ragunath Row to write to Hyder Ally Cawn, who always quarrels with your friend by his intimation, that he may not be troublesome to me in future, but be in peace with each other. Then your friend with pleasure

and satisfaction will be ready to Join and assist the English in absolute power to chastise the Enemy.

"It is meet that thou who art my friend should always write and mention whatever you think proper that I may act accordingly in regulating this country."

There follows a translation of a letter "What was requested to be wrote to the English Chiefs with Ragunoth Row."

"The Nabob Deleer Cawn Bahadur, who is the Chief of Sanwur and Beganwur, is the Virtuous and select slave of his Majesty. In the concerns of the Said Navob, the King directs that care and attention be observed, and he is also united in friendship with me. You are diligently to peruse this writing, and acquaint Ragunoth Rowe with the subject thereof, and the said Rowe is to write a letter to Hyder Ally Cawn to this purpose; that he will not permit him to be troubled or his country disturbed, but that they will remain in concord and friendship, which Letter is to be obtained and sent—this being in every Respect agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure and satisfactory."

The extract of a letter from Row Adut Roy to Shever Cawn, vakeel to Raja Rinjid Singh (enclosed in Mr Bristow's letter of 8th September 1775), is as follows :—

"You would have heard that our family have long been vakeels to the Deccan chiefs. The Navob Deleer Cawn of Sanwur and Biganwur, who has been long the employer of your friend, has been Dignified with the high and Respectable Titles of commander of 7000, a fringed pallanquin and beating Nobit,[1] and the wealth and power of his family are well known in the Decan. He has constantly ten or twelve thousand foot of the Race of Afghans in readiness, and when necessary can augment them to twenty thousand warlike men. For some time, by the domineering of the Marrattoes, the Jurisdiction of a great part of Biganwur being gone to his Enemies, he is become full of Trouble. Therefore the Navob's pleasure is to this purpose, that he may find a way of being completely patronised by the English chiefs who are come to the Deccan, to the assistance of Ragunoth Rowe, and with an intention to Extirpate the Marrattoes, and by that means get possession of his antient patrimony, and according to the pleasure

[1] See explanation in footnote on page 143 of chap. vii.

of the English be employed in chastising the Enemy, and the Haughty Hyder Ally Cawn, whose country joins to the Navobs, and gives him much trouble by impositions, he will then put at defiance.

"With this View a letter of friendship and impatience I have sent for Mr Bristow, comprehending his wishes for letters to the English chiefs, who are with Ragunoth Row. You and I being united in friendship, and besides that Lalla Buddusing is my old friend, I therefore send the friendly letter to you, and hope you will deliver it and make Mr Bristow perfectly acquainted with the dignity, power, and Riches of the Nabob my master, who with the race of Afghans assembled will be ready at the time of necessity, and be employed in what manner the English may think proper in destroying the Enemy—this to be particularly explained to Mr Bristow. You will speedily obtain an answer from Mr Bristow, and Letters to the English Chiefs with Ragunoth Row according to the enclosed, and, please God, Steady in your friendship, and hereafter beautiful gifts from the Navob will be sent to Mr Bristow and my friend, and you must heartily and quickly set about this business and despatch Mr Bristow's letters to the Deccan, that a Trusty person may be sent with them to the English Commanders, that the time of doing the Business may not escape, for any delay in Settling this affair will give uneasiness to your friend, therefore bestow your kindness."

On 28th September Colonel Upton is at Mirzapur. On 30th September, 10 coss short of Allahabad, Colonel Upton writes to Siccaram Pundit (Minister at Poona), and asks that an escort may be sent to him at Culpee, as he will only have a few sepoys with him. He adds that he has written to Balajee Pundit to the same purpose.

On the 6th October Raja Hindu Put writes to Colonel Upton that he will be glad to meet him and help him and his friends at Allahabad.

On 7th October Colonel Upton receives a letter from Siccaram Pundit[1] saying that he has received a letter from Mr Hastings, and that he has ordered escort for Colonel Upton's protection. He encloses parwanas for the Aumla of Jansey, Sagar, Huldah, and Burhanpoor.

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[1] See note on page 251 about this Minister.

On the 9th Colonel Upton writes to Nawab Moaziz Cawn, Subadar of Allahabad, for the escort of three companies of sepoys promised by the Nawab of Oudh, but the Subadar replies that the pay of the companies has not yet been settled by the Nawab [Wazir]; and on the 16th Colonel Upton writes to Mr Bristow that he must leave Allahabad without them. He leaves for Culpee the next day. The escort should follow. If the Mahratta escort meets him at Culpee, the Nawab's escort will be returned.

20th October, Colonel Upton is at Korah, where he receives a letter from Raja Himit [Himmat][1] Bahadur [of Kalpi] saying that elephants and camels have been sent by the Nawab (of Oudh), and are ready for him at Culpee. He adds: "I shall be able to escort you in safety for 150 coss on this side the Jumna, but you will require to consider about your safety as you advance further." He mentions the distresses of the Rohilla prisoners at Allahabad. Colonel Upton replies to Raja Himit Bahadur that he hopes to be at Culpee in three or four days. He intends to go by the road of Jancy, and requests him to order "the necessary guard to escort me in safety from Culpee to the boundaries of your dominions."

On 22nd October Colonel Upton writes to Hinduput Raja, Benares, that he has not yet decided "whether I shall go by the way of Culpee or through your country," and asks for a passport and escort "till I get clear of your boundaries."

On 23rd Colonel Upton writes to Raja Chet Sing of Benares asking for elephants.

On 24th October Colonel Upton writes from Culpee to Lechmin Row, Mahratta, commanding at Jancy, asking for an escort, and saying that it is not certain whether he will go by the way of Gwalior or Hurdnie. He will present a letter from Sicca Ram Babu on meeting him. On the same date he writes from Culpee to Ballajee Pundit commanding 5000 Mahrattas 20 coss from Culpee, that he proposes going by the road of Jancy. He adds: "I understand your Pindarees are scouring and plundering the country within 5 coss of Culpee," and asks him to give directions that his followers may not be disturbed by the Pindarees. On 28th Colonel Upton receives

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[1] Hamilton, in his 'Rohilla Afghans,' p. 270, mentions "Himmet Behadur" as a "general" of the Nawab Wazir (in 1774).

an answer from Ballajee Pundit, who writes that for some time a war has subsisted with the Gusain [Himmat Bahadur Raja of Kalpi], and parties of horse belonging to both sides are scouring the country. He advises Colonel Upton to cross the river Shon at Jellapore Ghat, and he will then furnish escorts to the extent of his authority. Raja Himit Bahadur also sends a list of stages.

Colonel Upton wrote to Calcutta from "Calpee, 26th October 1775": "The country about here is in the greatest distress and confusion. The Marattas have a small army of about 3000 men within 20 coss of Calpee; their freebooters have plundered and laid waste the country all around within 5 coss, and they daily expect the Town to share the same fate. The Raja of Calpee, Hamit Bahadoor, the Gossain, who with his brother Omro Gyr has the entire command and discretion of the Doab, has lately marched with an army of about 15,000 men to the neighbourhood of Jansi, whether to secure a strong pass there or to besiege Jansi is not known. The Marattas marched the 3000 men in consequence of the motion of Hamit Bahadoor, and have got between him and Calpee." [Appendix 86 to Fifth Report.]

On 31st October Colonel Upton, still at Culpee, writes to the Rissaldar of the Nawab's troops that he has been expecting them some days, and that he is now proceeding by the way of Jalvin, and that he will halt at the Raja Himit Bahadur's camp. He leaves Captain Wroe behind to take command of the escort when it arrives. The Nawab's escort arrives at Culpee, but never overtakes Colonel Upton, who at last sends a written order to it to go back to Lucknow.

On the same date, at Musmuria, 6 coss from Culpee, Colonel Upton receives a letter from Letchman Pundit at Jancy, telling of the dangers of the road to Jancy, and informing him that "By Gwalior is the High road." From Musmuria he marches, as appears from the Itinerary, to Jalvin town, 6 causs; to Konch, 7 causs; Paherganw, 4½ causs; Bumnonly, 4½ causs; and the Fort of Mooti. On 4th November Colonel Upton writes to Raja Ram Singh of Nurwar, saying that he has arrived at Mooti, and proposes to go through the Raja's country, and asks for a trustworthy person to meet him, and to provide what is required, &c., for his servants and the 200 sepoys who are with him as his guard. He will pay for

whatever they get. He goes on, apparently with Raja Himit Bahadur, to Bhander—5 causs.

"This is a large Village with a good Bazar and plenty of Well Water. There is a small Tank remarkable for its deepness on the Top of a Rock, N.E. of the town. The name of the Tank is Soon Talia. Jancy is 7 causs to the southward of this place." Then to Bahadurpoor. 5¾ causs, and to Dittia, 2¼ causs. "At Dittia there is a large City with a Stone Fort, the Residence of Raja Chetter Jeete. There are 8 Bastions on the Fort with several Guns mounted. This is a very pretty Place altogether. From Bahadurpore to this is one entire jungle." Then by Bilherria Village, Limkunna, Kemelpore, Bheunka, Kalipahary, to Nurwar City and Fort (14¼ coss from Dittia).

On 12th November Colonel Upton writes to Raja Himit Bahadur that he has arrived at Nurwar, and that the Raja Ram Singh has descended from the Fort to see him, and that he has visited the Raja at his house, and has seen the Fort. He thanks Raja Himit Bahadur for his friendship, to which the attention he has received from the Raja of Nurwar is due.

The Itinerary describes Nurwar as follows :—

"The city of Nurwar is at the entrance of the Pass to cross the Great Range of Mountains. The Fort stands upon a High Hill, and is supposed to be impregnable against any Hindostan Army. There are several very large Guns mounted. However, a few Resolute Grenadiers would soon Escalade the Walls and possess themselves of the Works, which are so very extensive that they cannot be well defended by those who possess them now." (After describing the Pass) . . . "A Road appears to come round the Hills from the Eastward, by which the Fort might be avoided entirely, Except we give credit to what the Inhabitants say that the Gun upon the south point of the Fort will Range the Road all the way to the Pass with the High Stone Gate called Ghoor Tana, which is about 3 miles off. The Gun is Visible to this pass, but there is very little danger to be apprehended from it. After you leave this place you come to a very beautiful valley, well cultivated, to the east end of which lies a Village, which the Raja gave for the support of some Women and Children. Caussam Ally Cawn left at this place. . . . After passing the River, your course is nearly south. You ascend

a high Hill through jungle for near a mile; then go through a Very Large Stone Gate, which forms the strongest pass of any, not only on account of the Hills on each side, covered with Jungle, but there is a Stone Wall with several Bastions running up to the very summit of the mountains on the right and left. A little after you pass this Gate you come to an Old House, where a few Sepoys are stationed near a Good Well (or Boulie, the common name for Wells with Steps down to the Water). After you have got to the Top of the Mountain your course is from South to S.S.W. till you come in sight of Dungry—7 causs—to which you descend but very Little. . . . The Village is walled, and there is a small Fort, as there is indeed in every Village in this Country."

On the 13th November Colonel Upton writes both to Raja Himmat Bahadur and Raja Ram Singh of Nurwar that he has arrived at Dungore (or Dungry). He asks the former to try to reconcile Raja Ram Singh and the Raja of Ghouhid. To Joorin Pass, 1½ causs. "This Pass is not High or difficult, but Rocky." Then to Seepery, 2½ causs.

"The Maharatta districts commence at the Pass of Joorin. Seepery is a Large Town, the Residence of Tantia Ram, the Fougidar. Wells in abundance in the Town, also a Gunge."

To Susaye Fort, 3 causs. "This is a pucka Fort, not Strong, but a High Wall with 3 Guns mounted and 200 men, the common Garrison."

To Kularuss, 3½ causs. . . . Budha Dungree, 4¼ causs. "Road good. . . . A bowlie and a grove of tamarind trees to the east. . . . The village is walled round." To Gurass, 4 causs. To Ekai, 1 causs. Kala Bagh, 1¾ causs; Beesoura, 2¼ causs; Shawdore, 5 causs. "There is a bazar here." To Seronge, 10 causs. "The country rocky, and covered with jungle. The Barny Nuddy, with knee-deep water. The City of Seronge has some Large Buildings, also an Extensive Serai with a High Stone Wall. There is a very plentiful Bazar here in general. No fortifications here."

On 21st November Colonel Upton writes to Nawab Fayz Mahomed Khawn of Bupal (Bhopal) that he is on his way to Poona, and has that day left Seronge, and that he hopes to be in Bupal in four or five days, and asks for safe passage. On 24th and 25th November the Nawab replies in cordial terms, and sends his brother Easseen Mahomed Khawn to meet him.

Colonel Upton writes to Calcutta from "Bopal, 25th November 1775. I was prevented going the Jansi road by the Gossains having besieged that place, and the country between Jansi and Saugur (the intended route) being all in arms—the Raja and Jemmadars against each other and the whole of them trying to make themselves independent. I wrote to the Narwar Raja for permission to travel through his country, which he granted; but the independent Rajas, &c., through the whole country I am to pass, made further application necessary. I have permission from them to pass, but it retarded me much.

"From Narrah I travelled entirely through Ragoba's country, obliged always to send forward for permission to go on, the country everywhere either in arms, or ready to be so, or the people shut up in their Forts. I am now in the country of a Patan, Nabob Fiaz Mahomed Cawn, who grants me a passage through his country, but his people behave sturdily. I have not yet received a line from Poona. The Sirdars of the different districts have not been apprised of my travelling through their country, or know anything of my business. And I am now within 70 coss of Burhanpore, the headquarters of their army. . . . I am now going on from 20 to 25 miles a day over a country very mountainous and filled with rocks and jungles." [Appendix 93 to Fifth Report.]

To Ooher, 5 causs; to Hurkoo, 2 causs. "The Seronge Boundaries end at this Village, and those of Beelseh begin." . . . To Bheelseh City . . . 13¼ causs. "The city is about a Mile in length and ½ a Mile broad. It is surrounded with a High Wall, with several Bastions and a few small Guns mounted. They do not willingly suffer Strangers to enter the City, but keep a Bazar on the outside for their Supply. . . . Horses, Camels, Bullocks, and Tobacco are purchased Remarkably cheap and very Good here; also some Good Chintz. There is Encampment Ground to the North of the City, and plenty of Jeel and Well Water."

To Betwa Nuddy, 1¼ causs. "This River runs rapid, and is very stony. It has Water to half the thigh in the dry weather. A guard of 50 men stationed on the Bank."

To Ghora Pichar Nuddy, 4 causs. "About a causs after you pass the Betwa Nuddy you come to a small Village, Kanakeree, near a Rock. Here the Bheelseh Districts end

and the Nabob of Bhoupal's dominions commence. At ½ a mile further you enter a thick jungle." To Amary Village, 2½ causs. To Bhoupal City, 7 causs. "Road in most places pretty good, some Jungle. . . . This is a Large Town walled round with several Bastions and a Stone Fort on the rising ground to the S.W. The City is on the Banks of the Largest Tank in the Country, 4 causs in length and about ¾ of a causs broad—the City and Fort on one side of the Tank and a Range of Rocky hills on the other. The Tank is very deep and the water Good. It would be right to fix upon Encampment ground at some distance before you arrive at the City, as the Ground all round it is very Rocky, stony, and uneven. The Nabob Fayz Mahomed Khawn is a Patan. He pays the Chowtie[1] to the Mahrattas, and lives very quiet. His Revenues about 8 Lakhs a year. His Country is pretty extensive, but the Greatest part of it is covered with Jungle, owing to a want of Inhabitants."

To Charmindlee Village, 7 causs—"a small Village in the Jungle, but with open ground enough for 6 or 7 battalions. . . ."

To Kalarup Nuddy, 3 causs. "Over Small Hills through an entire Jungle. Nuddy rapid and very strong. Our Course nearly east, then for a Mile South, after which about S.E. between two Ranges of High Mountains through the Bhyron Pass . . . the Road Rocky, Stony, and Bad, through the Wildest and Most Mountainous and Jungle country of any I have seen." To Soombaree Nuddy, 2¾ causs. Daba Village, 1 causs. Amherry Nuddy and Dihmindla Nuddy, 2½ causs. To Bhironda, 2½ causs—"a small village with Well Water and some open Country." To Chipounee (or Cheepe) Nuddy, 3 causs. "The river very strong, with knee-deep water and the banks high." To Great Cheepaneer, "on the N.W. bank of the Nerbudda River, 1¼ causs. The Country mostly cultivated and the Road good. The Nerbudda is about a mile broad from Bank to Bank, with Several Small Sharp Rocks in it. It must be crossed in boats—it having in the end of November near 8 feet water, and in the Rainy Season this River is Exceedingly Rapid and dangerous to cross. The Nabob of Bhoupal's Dominions end on the N.W. bank of it."

To Little Cheepaneer, 1 causs; Harda, 7¼ causs; Pete,

[1] Chauth, a tribute of one-quarter the produce.

7 causs. "The Country in general well cultivated; a great quantity of Wheat in this Country." To Charwa, 2 causs; Feekeree, 6 causs; Parella, 1 causs; Sekneer, 10 causs. "The Country covered with Jungle." To Bunjaraka Chowky, 6½ causs; Seevil Village, Mantore Nuddy, 4¼ causs. "After you have crossed the Mantore Nuddy and gone about a Mile and after you have left the deep-cut Road, you will observe a Road striking off to the Right (or Westward), which goes to the Fort of Asere Ghur, which is upon a High Hill about 3 causs from the Road. This Fort appears extensive, and by the country people is reckoned by much the Strongest Fort in this Country. . . . This is the Famous Fort so particularly mentioned in Col. Dow's 'History of Hindostan.' It was formerly, with all the Khandese, in the Hands of the Nizam, but it is now in the possession of the Mahrattas. By what I could see of the Fort, I think there would be much trouble in bringing Artillery to bear upon it, the Hills being full of Nullahs and covered with jungle. . . ."

To Ruth Ghur, 2½ causs; Boores, 3½ causs; Burhanpore City, 2 causs. "When we came close to the City we crossed the Tapty river to get Good Ground for Encampment. The City is situated on a very fertile extensive plain. It was founded by Barhan Shaw, and was long in the possession of Mahometans. Many Mosques and other relicks are still to be seen. The City is large, and surrounded with a High Stone Wall with many Round Bastions, but all in a Ruinous condition. However, they have some few Small Guns Mounted. The City is full of Ruins, but several of the Old Houses of the Mussilmen are standing. This City and Country is governed by a Subah under the Peshwa. Naroo Bular was the Subah when I was there. He is a very cheerful Old Brahmin. This City is famous for Chintz Manufactory—some of it with Gold flowers, &c., &c."

On 7th December, at Burhanpore, Colonel Upton receives a letter from Siccaram Bappoo at Poona, welcoming him and telling him that "the Governors at Bombay pass the time in fair pretences and have not recalled their army, but on the contrary have taken possession of some of the Guzerat towns, and they have nothing in their minds but Hypocrisy and Dissimulation." He requests that "positive Instructions" may be sent [to the Bombay Council] "to desist from their

unbecoming proceedings, for if they still continue, our Army is in readiness, and will not remain to look on, but will also oppose them."

From Burhanpore, 2 causs, to Ajinar. Thence to Chandy or Chickledey Village, 3¼ causs, at the junction of the Tapty and Puna Nuddy—"a Large Village with Several Stone Houses, but one in particular which is very neat built, much after the Europe Manner and made of Bricks. The only account we could get of it was that a European assisted a Brahmin in forming the Plan." To Peepery, 4½ causs; Bhusoura, 2½ causs; Niseerabad Town, 5¼ causs—"a Small Town surrounded with a Mud Wall." To Harru, 3½ causs, Gheernee Nuddy, 4¾ causs, "over broken ground with short thin jungle, then our Course nearly south to Doulatpore, 3½ causs; Pindowry, 4 causs; Ajiner, 4¾ causs; Bhurganu, 3 causs—a Small Town on an Island formed by the Gheerny Nuddy, surrounded by a Mud Wall with 4 Gates—one or two Large Stone Houses." Kuge Ganw, 5½ causs . . . Buggle Ganw, 4 causs . . . Chaleesa Ganw, 4 causs—"a Small Town Walled with 4 Gates. This Town belongs to the Nizam. A Fougidar resides here." Heerapore, 4½ causs—"Country open." . . . Rutunia, 3¼ causs . . . Niseerabad, or Niseerghur, 3 causs. "Niseerabad belongs to the Mahrattas, and is in the Jagheer of Siccaram Bappoo. The Town is surrounded with a Stone Wall, and there is a small Fort. No Guns." By Peeperkere and Jilganw, 3½ causs, to "Two Small Rocks—one to the Right and one to the left of the road. That to the left has nothing upon it, but the Right, or westerly Rock, is Fortified with a Wall round the Top, a few Huts on the Edge and at the Bottom of it, belonging to Bheels, a Cast of thieves amongst the Hills. This is a Romantick place. . . . After crossing three Nullahs, which have high Banks, covered with some Jungle, which is frequently infested with the Bheels, or Hill Robbers, the Road divides in order to ascend the Kissarbaree Pass. . . . The Top of the Hill has a very extensive prospect. Good water upon the summit. To Bhadroulee and Parella or Paronlee, 3¾ causs. . . . By ascending to the Top of some Green Hills to the N.E. of the Valley, before Sunrise or at Sunset, you may see Dowlatabad about 26 causs off nearly East."

To Nireilee, 3¾ causs. . . . Byzapore, 5 causs. "A pretty

Large Town surrounded with a wall. . . . It belongs to the Nizam, but he was about giving it to the Mahrattas. Most of the inhabitants are Mussylmen. Plenty of Grain and fruit here. Good beef is killed here. . . . The Tomb of Rooknud-din Shaheed is in a Mosque in the Town. His Grave is 13 cubits in length."

To Bhurganw, 4½ causs. "The Country covered with corn and the Road Good. . . . The Nizam's boundaries end here."

To Babool Ganw and Gudauree River, 3¾ causs. "Road Good and Country covered with Corn. The Gudauree River is about 600 yards broad—Water to the Middle of the thigh in dry Season." To Ekal Ganw, 9½ causs. "At Oogheer Village, on the South Bank of the Pehri River, the Peshwa has three houses full of poor, Lame, Old, and Decrepit persons, for whose Support he allows the Rent of three Villages." To Uher Nuddy and Deuralu Ganw, 3¾ causs . . . Rehauree, 3½ causs. Jherni Nulla, "Road not good, stones washed down by Torrents from the Hills." . . . Nadganw, 5½ causs, Neemdehira, 1¼ causs, "A great deal of Milky Hedge on both sides of the Road. Road good, and country cultivated." . . . Cummit Peeperee, 3 causs, Road stony . . . Neem Ganw, 3 causs; Jam Ganw, 3½ causs, "road very stony." Parnar, 3½ causs; Sidh Nuddy and Joula Village, 6 causs; Ghour Nuddy and Ahmidabad Town, 4 causs. Ahmidabad, a small Town surrounded with a Mud Wall. Bhagkela, 3½ causs; Sekra, a small Town with a Bazar and Wall, 4½ causs; Koureeganw, 3½ causs."]

Captain Macpherson's Journal begins on 25th December 1775 *as follows*:—

Marched at 5 A.M. On coming near Gowry Ganj, where we were to Encamp, we saw the Encampment of Maden Row Sidashew,[1] and a man of Rank, who was deputed by the Peshwa's Ministers to meet Col. Upton and attend him to Poonah Dhur. In

[1] A later entry in the Journal says that Maden Rao Sidasheo was appointed by the Maratha Ministers to reside near Colonel Upton and transact all business between him and the Ministers. "Whatever he said or did was to be looked upon as said or done by the Ministers in the fullest sense."

the Evening Maden Row waited upon the Colonel, and acquainted him with the great pleasure they expressed at his near approach . . . not doubting but it will be the means of Establishing a lasting peace and friendship between the two Powers. The Colonel replied that no endeavour of his should be wanting to make it so. . . . He recommended the Colonel to halt to-morrow, as it would be six days before the Ministers could have the pleasure of a meeting with him, the Astrologers having fixed on Saturday as the Lucky day for that purpose. . . . The Colonel agreed to this proposal. Madenrow then delivered a Letter from Sicca Ram Pundit and one from Ballajee Pundit mentioning the Bearer as a person of rank and trust.

Dec. 26*th*. This evening the Colonel returned Madenrow's visit.

27*th*. Marched to Koryganw Cuncutta, 5 causs.

[At Koryganw, Colonel Upton receives a letter from Raghunath Row, who says: "I hope you will attentively consider the engagements of the English and support me, as was intended by placing me on the *musnud* [throne], and whatever they direct I will invariably attend to, and be always their subject; and although I shall apparently be the Chief of this country, yet they will rule it in reality. If it should be said that this dignity belongs to the Heir of Narrainrow, I readily agree to it, and will deliver it over to him, when of age, if they can prove him to be the real son of Narrainrow." Colonel Upton briefly replies from Koryganw on 27th December "within three days' journey of Poonah": "I have particularly observed what you say." Earlier on his journey Colonel Upton had received a letter dated 22nd October from Colonel Keating, introducing to him Madon Row, Vakeel of Raghunath Baje Rao, Peshwa, who was going to Poonah.]

The Journal continues: Dec. 28*th*. Marched to Rajabari, 5¼ causs; 29*th*, to Sansore, 3 causs short

of Poonah Dhur; *30th*, Messages between the Colonel and the Ministers about the meeting to-morrow.

[Colonel Upton writes from "Poona Dhur, 5th Jan. 1776: The journey was considerably longer than we before imagined; Mr Smith makes it 948 miles from Calpee, and we were never able to procure a relief of either bearers, coolies, or cattle for our camp equipage, and very little assisted in any way. The miscarriage of orders from the Ministers here and the disturbed state of the country was the occasion of this. . . . It is with extreme regret I advise of the death of poor Dr Banks. He had been in a declining way these two months past, and expired this morning early." (Appendix 98 of Fifth Report).]

CHAPTER XI.

AT PURANDHAR, 1776. THE TREATY WITH THE MARATHAS.

At Purandhar. First meeting with Siccaram Bappoo and Nana Purnavis (Balaji Pandit) on 31st December 1775. Captain Macpherson's account of these two famous Ministers. Darbar on 1st to 3rd January 1876. Discourtesies and dilatoriness of the Maratha Ministers, 25th January. Darbar at which the young Peshwa was present. Continuous conversations with Madan Rao. Mirza Jan's questions. Debate at the Peshwa's Darbar, 6th February. The Ministers threaten war if Salsette be not given up to them. Colonel Upton declares that he will depart. The Vakil of the Nawab of Arcot, Dada Rao, and the Nizam's Vakil, Vikar-ud-Dowlah. Darbars on 20th and 22nd February. The Peshwa's mother, Gunga Bai. Progress made with the articles of the Treaty. The Treaty signed on 1st March. Its terms denounced by Bombay Government, but no better terms got in the Treaty of Salbye six years later. Despatch of copies of the Treaty to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Colonel Upton tries without success to get better terms for Raghunath Rao. Raghunath's displeasure.

[The Mission encamped near Purandhar, a Hill Fort, twenty miles south-east of Poona and ninety miles south-east of Bombay. It was to this Fort that the Poona Regency had sent the widow of Narayan Rao after his assassination by the orders, or by the connivance of, his Uncle Raghunath Rao, and here his son, the infant Peshwa, Madho Rao the Second, was born in 1774.]

Captain Macpherson's Journal.

1775. *Dec.* 31*st.* This forenoon being fixed upon as the lucky time for the first meeting, Madenrow Sidashew came to the Colonel's Tent at 9 A.M.,

and acquainted him that on his mentioning to the Ministers the necessity and propriety of going a short distance to meet the Colonel, they replied they were the Viziers of the Peshwa, who is in fact King of this country, that there was hardly an instance of their having gone to meet any ambassadors, and that they never went to meet any of the Company's servants, nor could they go to meet Col. Upton on the present occasion. He had observed to them that Col. Upton was himself of high Rank, as well as being in the King of England's service, and Deputed with full powers by five Gentlemen who not only possessed the whole power on the part of the Company, but also on the part of the King, that it was therefore absolutely necessary for the Ministers to go and meet him. On hearing this, they agreed, but Siccaram Bappoo,[1] being an old man, is not well able to bear the fatigue, but Nannah Purnaveese [1] and the other Chiefs will come. The

[1] Later, Captain Macpherson records the following notes about these two well-known Ministers: "Siccaram Bappoo, who is, in fact, Regent to the young Peshwa, was once sent to Hindustan with Ragonath Row, when young, to instruct him in the command of a large army. He was once or twice on other occasions (deputed) as Dawan to the Armies sent to Hindostan. He has a few Pargannahs of his Jaghir besides the necessary provisions for his family which are furnished from the Peshwa's table.

"Ballajee Pundit Purnaveese and Moronba Purnaveese are the Receivers General for all money paid to the Peshwa on account of revenues or otherwise, and by them paid into the Treasury, nor can any money be issued without the draft or order being signed by the person acting as Purnaveese. All orders for the Army, or removing Governors of Forts, &c., are sent through the Purnaveese. All State papers which are granted under the seals of Government are signed and dated by the Purnaveese, without which they are not reckoned sufficiently authenticated. Whenever an army is sent, a Deputy from the Purnaveese attends in the character of Buckshy, and receives and pays all money on account of Government. The Purnaveese have not much jaghir land, but their perquisites are immense and indeed unknown. I have been informed that they are allowed by the Peshwas 2½% upon all money received into the Treasury. They are not obliged to maintain any Troops of their own except 100 Horse. The Government furnishes them with

Custom of the Country on such occasions is that the Chiefs move from their Habitations at the same time and meet about half way. When they come within 100 paces of each other they stop, and the Chiefs, or Gentlemen who are with each, move forward and Embrace each other, and after them the two principals perform the same ceremony. The Colonel replied that being in their Country he readily agreed to their Customs on such an occasion. . . . A messenger arrived to say that the Ministers Sicca Ram Bappoo and Ballajee Pundit (commonly called Nannah Purnaveese) were to mount their Elephants as soon as they supposed him arrived at the Colonel's Tent. The Colonel mounted his Elephant, and, attended by all the gentlemen of his family, began Our Journey to meet the Ministers, who were also on their way. Siccaram, who was in front, on being within 100 paces of us, dismounted, as did the Colonel, the Gentlemen accompanying each having also dismounted, walked forward and Embraced, as already mentioned, after which the Colonel and Siccaram did the same. After a few questions Siccaram said he was old, and not able to bear the Heat of the Sun. He hoped the Colonel would excuse his going to the Peshwa's Tent before them, and that the Colonel would follow after meeting the Nannah. The Colonel said by all means. The same Ceremony being performed on meeting the Nannah we moved towards the Durbar Tent. The Ministers had about 16 Howder Elephants in their Swary, and were attended by about 10,000 Horse. On our

whatever Troops they may occasionally want. The present Purnaveese Ballajee Pundit does not attend to this last Rule, for being one of the Ministers of the young Peshwa next in power to Sicca ram Bappoo, he maintains a large body of Troops and appears abroad in great state, but Moronba Purnaveese is suspected of being much attached to Ragonath Row, and consequently in no office under Government. He is very rich, and keeps a large body of Troops at his own expense."

arrival at the Tent of State and a few Compliments passing on both sides, the Colonel proposed that his Credential letter should be read, in presence of all the Chiefs . . . Ballajee Pundit replied that he would wish to put this off till to-morrow, when a full Durbar would be held for that purpose—Siccaram being unwell and also gone home. In the Evening the Colonel sent to settle the hour at which the Durbar should meet, and to recommend that the Peshwa should be present. They replied, if agreeable to the Colonel, the Durbar would open at 3 oclock in the afternoon, but hoped he would excuse their not bringing the Child (meaning the Peshwa), as he was so young, and never carried so far abroad.

1776. *January* 1*st*. The Colonel despatched a packet to the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay, in which was the Supreme Council's Letter. At 3 P.M. the Colonel went to the Durbar, when he met Siccaram Bappoo and Ballajee Pundit, with a very large assembly of their Chiefs. The Colonel delivered to the first his Credential Letter, which being publickly read we retired to another part of the Durbar, Divided by Kanots.

Present: Col. Upton, Siccaram Bappoo, Ballajie Pundit (commonly called the Nannah), Kishinrow Belai, Captain Allan Macpherson, Persian Interpreter, Madenrow Sidashew. The Colonel began by making them understand the Pacifick disposition, not only of the Supreme Council, but of the English nation in general towards the Powers of Indostan, and that he was come to take every measure to establish an Honorable and lasting peace. . . . They declared they were sincerely disposed to the same measures. . . . The Colonel then recommended that both parties should prepare in writing what they wished to bring on the carpet next day. He observed that what concerned the Bombay

Troops and their own ought to be the first consideration—to all of which they readily agreed. We then talked on the merits of the Bombay War without descending to particulars, and soon after adjourned.

Jan. 2nd. Went to the Durbar at 6.30 P.M. Present the same as yesterday. The Colonel asked if they had any news. . . . They said they were informed that a Detachment of Raggannot Row's troops had . . . attempted to take a small Fort of the Peshwa's, but had been repulsed and had plundered the Village. Further, that he had sent 3000 men to attack their Town of Ahmadabad, and it was highly necessary they should take proper measures to oppose him. Mr Hastings had informed them that the Bombay Troops would be withdrawn from Ragganot Row, but they had not yet been withdrawn, and Ragganot was almost daily committing acts of hostility. They requested the Colonel would write to Bombay to recall their army immediately, and leave them and Ragganot to settle their own differences. Col. Upton said he imagined they must be mistaken about the English Troops . . . but the Ministers declared that 2 battalions of Sepoys and 5 Guns were with Ragganot. If the Colonel would consent they would send Troops to attack Ragganot and relieve Ahmadabad. The Colonel observed that they had better wait till he received an answer from the Governor and Council of Bombay . . . for it would have a very extraordinary appearance if they began Hostilities 3 days after his arrival. . . . They at last agreed to wait 12 days on condition that if Raganat did not remain quiet and recall his detachment by the end of that time, their attacking him would not be considered a breach of faith. . . .

Jan 3rd. I went to Madenrow as agreed. The following is what he related. An Account of the

rise and progress of the late Dissensions and Rebellion in the Mahratta State. [A long account of Ragunath's doings and of the murder by him of Narain Rao and of his flight to Surat follows.] Went to the Durbar in the evening. Colonel Upton asked if they had considered his proposal that the Chiefs should be called together to sign the Treaty when concluded. The Ministers replied that this request could not be complied with without danger to the Tranquility of the State. They had Treaties between their Peshwas and the Kings of Delhi as far back as the reign of Aurungzebe, as well as with all the other Powers of Indistan, and that the Mahratta Chiefs were entirely dependent on the Peshwa, and liable to be deprived of their dignity and Country at his pleasure. There were 3 or 4 Chiefs whom they could not call to the Peshwa's Durbar, though they acknowledged in most respects his superiority, and were obliged to join him with their forces whenever he made war near their respective Countries. These were Madaji Bhonsila of Durborar or Cuttack, Gaickwar Gobindram, and Fitty Singh, whose Country is half Guzerat, and Mira Row, who has part of the Carnatick. The Colonel said he would refer the matter to the Governor General. In the meantime the Treaty may be so carried on as to enable them to withdraw their army, and reduce the Heavy Expense they complain of. It was agreed that a reply to the Colonel's letter to the Bombay Presidency should be awaited. . . .

Jan. 4th. A message from Siccaram and Balajee that a detachment of Ragunat's troops were advancing to Navapora.

5th. Writing to Bengal all day.

6th. Despatched a pair of Hircarahs to Benares. A message from Siccaram and Ballaji that by a letter from Harry Pundit Pirkia they were informed that Ragunat Row's people had taken the village

and fort of Navapora. He had advanced 5000 or 6000 men to prevent their coming any further, and asked permission to retake the Fort.

7th. Another letter from Harry Pundit to Siccaram that the Company's Collector in Bulsar Pargunnah had sent repeated orders and threats to the Foudgedars of Bhootsur and Burneira to carry the collections of their respective Purgannahs to Bulsar. . . . Ragunat Row has made over the Purgunnah of Bulsar to the English. . . .

A Common Sircar was sent by Siccaram to attend at the Colonel's to show the servants where they could make purchases . . . to prevent disputes with the inhabitants. The fellow had the assurance to come into the Colonel's tent to-day without being sent for, and asked in jocular manner, "How do you like the Tope?" and then seated himself upon a Chair with all the ease imaginable. He was desired to walk out again.

9th. A conversation with Madenrow regarding the behaviour and Insolence of every man who came near us.

13*th.* The Colonel visited Siccaram Bappoo and Ballajee Pundit commonly called Nannah Purnuveese. They behaved very unbecoming their own Rank, &c.

14*th.* They returned the Colonel's Visits. . . . By the Colonel's desire I had a long conversation with Madenrow concerning the whole tenor of their conduct towards him from first to last—also what they purposed allowing Ragoba for his support and the propriety of pardoning all his followers, provided they returned to their Allegiance. . . . I went by the Colonel's desire to Madenrow's Tent to speak to him on the following circumstances:—

1st. If they had considered what had been mentioned concerning Ragaba, Placing the young Peshwa openly on the Musnud, &c. &c.

Answer: The Peshwa has already been put upon the Musnud, and received the Ram Raja's Kilat, or dress, establishing him as Peshwa.

I told him there are at present two Peshwas, and the world have their doubts which is the right one; it is highly necessary that these doubts should be removed in the proper manner.

Answer: We will readily agree to anything of this kind which the Colonel may propose, as soon as friendship is established between us and the English, but we cannot do it before, as it will appear extraordinary our performing that ceremony a second time entirely at the Colonel's desire and break off the Treaty in 5 or 6 days after; but the Colonel may send to the Ram Raja to ask if the son of Narrainrow, Seerymint Pundit Purdhaan, is not the Peshwa approved of by him, and whether he did not also give Siccaram Pundit and Ballajee Pundit dresses, or Kilats, as guardians to the young Peshwa.

In regard to Ragoba, they wished him to be quietly settled, and would allow a household of 1000 horse with 200 servants to be paid by [their] Government and 2 Lacks of Rupees a year to be given him in monthly payments for his family, or private expense, if he would settle on the bank of the Gungha,[1] and that the 1000 horse would obey all his lawful orders.

I remarked that I thought the sum was too small to support the Peshwa's Uncle, but that I was only come to hear what they had to say on the subject.

He observed that they would readily pardon Ragoba's followers, provided they would return to their allegiance, except four, who were very active in the murder of the late Peshwa; and even them they would in a great measure treat as should be recommended by the Colonel, provided they would keep at a proper distance.

[1] In the Deccan the Godaveri River is the Ganga.

I told him that the Colonel could not help remarking with surprise that he had now been here near 20 days, and not yet introduced to the Peshwa, notwithstanding they promised 15 days ago that he should see him in 4 days. If this was owing to his not bringing what they called the usual present, he thought he had sufficiently explained the cause to them before and made an Apology, telling them at the same time that he would send to Bombay for the necessary articles. Were the Peshwa of age, the Colonel would be with him, or he or his Ministers with the Colonel every day, till their Business was ready for the Durbar, which was the usual method in all Courts except their own. . . . Madenrow replied that no Ambassador or Vakeel ever went empty-handed to visit their Peshwa the first time, which was the only reason why the Colonel's visit had been delayed till the things arrived from Bombay. In regard to doing business at their private houses, they could not do it for fear of giving offence to one another or the publick.

I then told him that the Colonel proposed to send the Peshwa immediately one Elephant and a list of the things sent for to Bombay that the Visit might take place and their business go on as it ought to do. He assured me it would be quite satisfactory, and that nothing would prevent the visit taking place in two days, unless the death of Siccaram Bappoo's wife would occasion a delay, as he could not with propriety appear in publick for eight days; and if necessity obliged him to appear in the Durbar, he must do it without a Turban. . . . They wished much to have the Treaty concluded, but they thought it best to wait for the Bombay letters to prevent any future altercations. . . .

21*st*. Bombay letters arrived this morning, with a copy of Mr Taylor's Memorial to the Supreme Council and their answer.

22nd. The Colonel sent to Siccaram Baboo that he would be glad to see Madenrow, as letters were arrived from Bombay. The other replied that Madenrow was at Poonah, but he would send for him. Ballaji Pundit is also at Poonah at a Wedding.

24th. Madenrow waited on the Colonel, who began by telling him that the Bombay Letters complained of the Mahratta Ships disturbing their Trading Vessels, and desired that an order might be sent to their fleet not to disturb or molest any ships or boats under English Colours or with English passes during the Cessation of Arms. He promised that such an order should be sent in the morning.

The Colonel then said he supposed the Ministry would have no objection to confirming the Grants made to the Company by Fitty Sing Gaickwar, in the Guzerat Country and some Purgannahs round Broach, as these Cessions were the Voluntary Grants of the Absolute Proprietor. Madenrow answered: Fitty Sing is not the absolute proprietor of that Country, but holds it from the Peshwa, and had no right to give it away. Besides, those Grants have been made since the arrival of Mr Hastings's letter and the Cessation of Arms. The Colonel gave him further to understand that Salsette, Bassain, and the other little Islands round Bombay must be given to the Company. He said he would acquaint Siccaram and Ballaji with everything the Colonel said, but he did not think they would agree to the Terms. . . .

Last night a letter arrived from Ragaba, in the Mahratta Language, and another this day; but having no person we could depend upon to read them, and knowing they contained circumstances very improper to be made known to the Ministry, the Colonel thought it most prudent to send the hircarahs back, telling one of them the reason for not replying to their Master's letters, and to desire

that letters should be wrote in Persian and sent by way of Bombay.

25*th*. This being by the Astrologers fixed upon as a Lucky day for the Peshwa to receive the Colonel's Visit, about half after 11 I attended the Colonel to the Durbar Tent at the Bottom of Poonah Dhur hill. On our arrival at the Tent, Siccaram Bappoo and a great number of Chiefs were sitting round the Musnud. In a few minutes after the young Peshwa, about 2 years old, was brought and placed on the Musnud. The moment he appeared everybody got up and paid their respects to him, and then sat down. The Musnud and Pillows were covered with a Cloth of Gold, and the Canopy of the same Cloth with a gold fringe round the edge.

A List of the Presents being read, and the Elephant presented to the Peshwa on the part of the Company, the Colonel observed that should anything curious be found at Bombay, tho' not mentioned in the list, Captain Wroe would bring it, and should not some of the articles in the List be found, others should be brought in lieu of them. Siccaram Bappoo said it was not the value of the Present they considered; on the Contrary, whatever they received as a Token of friendship, however trifling, was always esteemed the most valuable, and that any playthings suitable to the age of the Peshwa would be most acceptable. After this they put the Beetle in the Hands of the Child, who was made to give it to the Colonel, and we came away.

26*th*. Madenrow came to the Colonel's Tent and told him that he had informed Siccaram of everything the Colonel had said. Ballaji was still at Poonah. Siccaram desired to inform the Colonel that it was very contrary to the Governor General's letter telling them that the English wanted no Encrease of Country, &c. In regard to Fitty Sing's right to give away any country, Madenrow gave a

written account as follows of the Dabary and Gaickwar families:—

Teermuck Row Dabary, on whom the Sahu Raja had bestowed the Guzerat country, was killed in battle with the Peshwa Baja Row. His sons took refuge with the Moguls. Damajee Gaickwar then managed the country. He rebelled against the Peshwa, and was defeated and made prisoner. Afterwards the Peshwa gave him half Guzerat on a promise of being his Vassal, and paying six Lacks a year and having 10,000 horse always ready for his disposal. . . . Damaji died, leaving 3 sons, Gobin Row, Syajee, and Fitty Sing. . . . The Gaickwars had been servants of Teermuck Row Dabary, who was a servant to the Rajah; and all the Chiefs under the Rajah have for a long period been subordinate to the Peshwa, and removable by his sunnuds. Eswant Row, the son of Dabary, died amongst the Moguls. He left one son, who arrived at Poona 3 years ago, and applied to the Peshwa for his country, and we are now about giving him part of it.

The Colonel said that if it should appear that Fitty Singh had no right to make these grants, or if they had been extracted from him since the Cessation of Arms, it would make a great difference in the Justness of the Cession. But Salsette, Bassain, Broach, with its dependencies and the small Islands near Salsette, must be given up to the Company. "What?" says Maden, "Salsette and Bassain? The latter has cost us 5 Crores of Rupees and the lives of many thousands. Is this your English Honor after the Calcutta letters declaring they want no increase of country but only peace. . . ?" He was certain Siccaram would never give such grants for a peace.

27th. I went to Madenrow's Tent. He had not seen Siccaram Bappoo, but was preparing to go to

him. He was firmly of opinion they would never agree to such Terms, and he hoped the Colonel would agree to more reasonable ones or no peace would take place. I said I believed the only alteration the Colonel would make would be laying aside his claim on Fitty Sing's Cessions if it should appear he had no right to make them, or if they had been extorted since the Cessation of Arms. In that case the Colonel would, I thought, expect instead a sum equal to the Expense of the Army; but he was determined in regard to Salsette, Bassain, Broach, with its districts and the small Islands near Bombay and Salsette—and that bone of contention, the Chout, must also be taken off in this Treaty, it being of no real advantage to the Mahrattas. . . . He replied: Last night, when you mentioned Bassain and Salsette, you made my Blood run cold, but it afterwards inflamed—particularly Bassain, which has cost us many lives in taking it and several crores of Rupees since. In regard to Broach, there would not be such a difficulty in settling it, as half of it has been taken from a Moghul by the Bombayers; but Bassain will never be given up, and the Chout is our old and just due. I asked How could they maintain a peace and go at pleasure to plunder the country of their friends for the Chout, and that they might rest assured they should never receive it; therefore it would be much more proper to lay aside all thoughts of it and give up at once a claim from which they could never reap any advantage, but which would be an eternal bone of contention. I said that at present their Government was tottering from the very root, and it behoved them to settle it without delay and not let trifles stand in the way. At last I said that many whom they esteemed their friends would turn their backs upon them the moment they obliged the

Colonel to take his leave without concluding a peace. He often said that the Colonel's demands were very foreign to . . . Mr Hastings's letters. "Let the Colonel stay at Poonah for two months and give us permission to fight Ragobah and the English from Bombay, and we will then treat." I said this would be impossible, for the moment they were determined on War they must first see Colonel Upton safe out of their dominions. He then said, "Well, the Colonel may stay at Bombay for the time, and he will soon see us retake Guzerat, and we will then Treat with him." I said I was sure their interest was to fix a peace. "What ?" says he, "and give up the Essence of our Dominions—Bassain ? No. We will first set fire to our own Country, and then to the Eastern World."

29th. Madenrow came to the Colonel's tent . . . and talked a great deal on the bravery of the Mahrattas. . . . Whatever the distracted state of their country might be at present, and however divided they were, yet the Colonel might rest assured in the end, Mahrattas would be Mahrattas, and join in support of their Government. Some years ago many Mahrattas became disaffected and joined the Nazam, who advanced to Poonah against the Peshwa, who was not strong enough to face them, but plundered and destroyed all the country from Poonah to Hyderabad and back by way of Boorhanpore. The Peshwa then wrote to the disaffected Chiefs that if they did not return to their duty, he would imprison all their families and stop payment of their Jagheers. They at once returned to their allegiance, and next season joined the Peshwa against the Nazam, and took a great part of his country from him. . . . The Colonel observed that the present case differed widely, for the Peshwa's family was [now] divided in war, and so were the Chiefs, and their country was much in need of peace. He had come from

Calcutta to offer it on honorable Terms. "Honor!" said Madenrow. "Is this your honor after the Calcutta letters? Justice! Justice! if you please. It is the custom in war for the party who sustain disadvantages to apply for peace and offer concessions. We have neither done one or the other. We received a letter from the Governor General disapproving entirely of the conduct of the Bombayers for having entered into the war, and telling us that neither the King, their Master, or the Company wished for any increase of dominions, and desiring that a stop should be put to all hostilities, and that a person should be sent to treat with us. . . . In consequence of this letter we have been supporting an idle Army, depending fully upon the Honor of the Supreme Council, and now you tell us that those Gentlemen who wished for nothing but friendship demand such a large share of our Country. You may call this honor, if you please, but I wish we had Justice." The Colonel assured him that the places he demanded were by his instructions from Calcutta, and not by any impressions made upon him by the Bombay papers. Madenrow said if that was really the case he thought the Bombay Council had been sending their orders to Calcutta in place of receiving them from thence. The Colonel said that he could not be answerable for the Letters from Calcutta, but that he was perfectly acquainted with his own instructions, and that it was highly necessary that the Ministers should give him a determined answer, as the Season was far advanced, the Armies in the field, and not a single reply to anything he proposed nor any proposals made on their part. If they were Resolved to make no Cessions to the Company, the peace would not take place. It was in that case best to lose no time. Madenrow said the Mahrattas would prefer War to peace on such Terms, but he would acquaint

Siccaram Bappoo and Ballaji with all he said, and an answer would be given the day after to-morrow. He concluded by calling out "Justice! Justice!" as he went to the door.

30*th*. The Colonel received a letter from the Nabob Fayz-ul-beg Khawn Dhowssa, who is on his march to join Hirry Pirkia's Army with 12,000 horse, 12,000 Infantry, and 35 guns from the Nazam. It was mentioned that the bearer, Mirza Jan, had something to say which the Colonel would be so kind as to hear. Mirza Jan said he was desired to ask the following questions. 1st. It is reported that a Member of the Bombay Council went to Calcutta to represent all their business to the Governor General, and that in consequence 12,000 soldiers, 3000 sepoys with Warlike stores of all sorts, and 25 Lakhs of Rupees were ordered from Bengal to Bombay. My Master requests to know if this is true or not.

The Colonel: A Member of the Bombay Council went to Calcutta, and arrived there after my departure. Some money is sent from Bengal to Bombay, but I have not heard about the Troops. I hope it will be a peace. Question 2nd. Do you really expect to conclude a peace, and upon what terms? Answer: I hope to conclude a peace here, although it is by no means certain. At present there is no saying what the Terms will be. Question 3rd. If a peace should not be settled here, do you purpose going to Surat to Treat with Raganot Row? Answer: I am in hopes of concluding a peace here. Question 4th. When you return to Bengal, do you purpose going the road you came, or by Bombay? Colonel: If my return should happen in the Cold Season, I will go by Aurunghabad and Masulipatam; if in the rains or very hot weather, I will go to Bombay, and probably return in one of the King's ships. Question 5. Are any of the King's war ships at

Bombay? Answer: Yes, four or five. Mirza called out "Wah-Wah."

Question 6. My Master will be exceedingly glad to see you, and will readily come 10 or 20 causs to meet you on the shortest notice. He is well acquainted with General Smith and other English Gentlemen. Colonel: I will be extremely happy to see the Nabob, and, if opportunity offers, will not fail to acquaint him.

The Colonel asked him several Questions. His answers were such as gave us to understand that his Master wished well to the English, and that his going to assist the Ministerial Army was more from Policy than inclination.

31*st*. The Colonel sent to remind Madenrow of the promise made to give replies to the demands made on the part of the English. He sent word that this being a very unlucky day, he could not come out, but would wait on the Colonel after Prayers to-morrow.

February 1*st*. Madenrow came and said a great deal about the Calcutta letters and the unexpected demands the Colonel makes. The Colonel, according to his letter of Credentials, was sent to make peace on terms equal and Honorable to both nations, in place of which he made claims which showed attention only to his own Country, and endeavouring to take the Turban off the heads of the Mahrattas to put it on the Bombayers. The Colonel observed that he could not deviate from his Instructions, and that the Conditions offered were easy compared to those subsisting between Ragabah and Bombay, which must stand in force unless they be annulled by a treaty on the part of the young Peshwa. . . . Madenrow observed: Suppose we were to write to Calcutta to ask why they gave Instructions to the Colonel so very foreign and contradictory to their letters to us. The Colonel replied that the Expence

of both Armies was at present very heavy, and in case of further delay they must pay Ragabah's Army as well as their own. This Madenrow positively refused, and said that Ragabah already collected the revenues of the Guzerat country. To show their real disposition to peace, the Ministers were ready to settle for Ragabah what they before talked of. The Colonel said it would not be thought enough for the Uncle of the Peshwa. . . . Madenrow said that they knew him to be of such a Turbulant and Restless disposition that they were sure he would raise fresh commotions if he had money, but if he conducted himself with propriety for two years, they would increase his salary. The Colonel thought Ragabah could not have less than 6 lakhs; if this were given to him in monthly payments, he could not lay aside much for any bad purpose. . . . At last it was agreed—That Raganot Row should lay down his arms and Reside at his former habitation on the Banks of the Gungha Gudoury, and not quit that district except by leave of the Peshwa or the Regents till he [the Peshwa] was of age. The Peshwa to give Ragonot Row Rs. 25,000 a month for his private expenses, and pay 200 Domestics, chosen by Raganot Row, with a few exceptions of particular persons, who they thought were very busy in bringing about the murder of Narainrow. A swary of 1000 horse paid by the Peshwa and removable at his pleasure, but to obey all Raganot Row's Lawful orders. Madenrow said that it would be necessary to have a gentleman from Calcutta to reside at Poona, and also a proper person on the part of the Peshwa at Calcutta. All former Treaties, such as the Safety of Ships, Boats, &c., to be strictly attended to. The Colonel assured him everything of that sort would be carefully provided for in the present Treaty. Madenrow [said] The Mahrattas have many Just demands, such as the Chout, &c.,

on the Princes of Indostan, Carnatic, Deccan, &c. We also know that the English are strongly attached with the Nabobs Sujah-ud-Dowla[1] and Mahomid Ally Khawn [of the Carnatic]. It will therefore be necessary to settle that any attack the Mahrattas make on any prince or power, the English excepted, shall not be considered as a breach of the Treaty, and the same in War made by the English against any other power except the Mahrattas, but that they may assist one another's Allies without being considered as principals. The Colonel said this was reasonable except in the case of the Nabobs mentioned. The English at present Guaranteed Korah, Allahabad, and Oude to the Nawab of Oude; and in the Carnatic it was hard to make a distinction between the Nabob and the English. If the Mahrattas would put their thoughts to paper regarding these matters . . . he would send their letters to Calcutta, and he thought it probable the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council would become Mediators. But all this must be an after business to the Bombay Treaty, which ought to be at once concluded so as to draw the Armies out of the field.

Madenrow: We have also learned that Lord Pigot is settling the Tanjore Country. We think it would be more reasonable to settle that business here, as the Rajah of that country is dependent on us, and we wish to see his Country properly restored. It is requested, therefore, the Colonel will write to the Nabob Mahomid Ally and Lord Pigot to that purpose. Colonel: I will write to the Supreme Council and transmit such papers as the Mahrattas give for that purpose, but I cannot correspond with any others.

Madenrow: We are very desirous of a peace with the English, and we will give them a Country

[1] Nawab Asof-ud-Daulah had succeeded Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah.

near Broach equal in value to Salsette and the Small Islands depending on it, and Salsette, &c., must be restored; and in order to support our honor for having given up such a part of our Dominions, the English shall assist the Peshwa with 200 horse, 500 Sepoys, and 5 Guns occasionally . . . as an acknowledgment for such a Country.

The Colonel assured him that he could not deviate from his demands, nor had he power to dispose of the English forces on any Terms. . . . Madenrow declared that it could not be a peace on such terms . . . that the Mahrattas would not wait any longer, but that the War must commence immediately. The Colonel said that if that is really the case it will be proper to fix a day for commencing hostilities. . . . Madenrow said the Armies might have notice in 5 or 6 days, and the Colonel said 20 days. Maden Row said he would acquaint Siccaram with everything. The Colonel, thinking it necessary to give the Bombay Gentlemen the earliest notice, despatched a letter to them.

Feb. 2nd. The Colonel sent me to Maden Row to ask if he had seen Siccaram. . . . Madenrow said he had not seen Siccaram, for he was sure it would answer no purpose. . . . Bassain we never had and never should have while they were able to defend it. I said the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council have supposed that the Bombayers are in possession of Bassain, and therefore gave Col. Upton strict injunctions not to relinquish it on any considerations; but as we never had Bassain, I believed the Col. would take upon himself to waive our claim upon Bassain upon condition that you give the English a factory on it with certain privileges, and a Country of about 3 Lakhs a year besides in the Neighbourhood of Broach or Surat in lieu of Bassain; but Salsette or the Small Islands would never be given up, and they must engage not to

admit any European to have a factory or any footing on Bassain. . . . The Supreme Council were acting on the strictest principles of honour, and I did not think it at all improbable but that they might write to England about Salsette upon the Ministers requesting it. . . . If they would grant Salsette to the English in the Treaty, leaving the further decision to the Supreme Council and offer an equivalent country in lieu of it, the Colonel would write all in his power to support their claim, but would not make a Peace without confirmation of the Island to the English at present. . . . Madenrow assured me that they would not do anything more than they had already mentioned. I said a great deal on the advantages of a peace . . . but if they preferred War, I positively desired they would fix a short day for the Colonel's departure. . . .

3rd. I went to Madenrow's Tent and waited ¾ of an hour before he came out from his prayers. . . . He said the Ministers were much disposed to peace, and would give any reasonable demands except Salsette, which they considered as the first mark of the rising power of the Peshwa's ancestors, but that they would give for it and our claim upon Bassain the Mahratta share of Broach 2½ Lacks and a country adjacent to Broach of 3 Lacks.

I told him this could not be accepted here in Lieu of Salsette . . . the Supreme Council might accept a Country in lieu of Salsette if a factory was granted and all Foreigners prohibited. He replied that they would Engage not to admit any Europeans except the English, and he made no doubt of their granting settlements in Bassein and Salsette on the latter's being restored if the English would behave with propriety, but they were very averse to having any more connections with the Bombayers. . . .

4th. Madenrow, instead of waiting upon the Colonel this morning, as promised, sent word that

he was obliged to go to the Durbar, as Siccaram Bappoo and Ballajee Pundit had sent for him. In the evening he excused himself from coming because of an Eclipse. He could not therefore come out, it being unlucky.

5th. At 10 o'clock the Colonel sent to Madenrow to desire to see him. He sent word he would wait on the Colonel in 3 gurries.[1] At 12 noon he sent a second message that it was unlucky to go abroad to-day on account of the Eclipse last night. The Colonel being a good deal displeased at this method of trifling away the time . . . sent to inform him that if he could not come out, Captain Macpherson should go with him, on which he came himself. Upon his arrival he pleaded some lame excuse.

The Colonel observed to him that the last time he had the pleasure of seeing him (5 days ago) they parted on Terms which showed a real prospect of renewing the War, and he therefore wrote on that Evening to acquaint the Council of Bombay with the disposition of the Ministers. . . . The best way would be to refer the whole to the Supreme Council by laying a dauck to Benares . . . and they would have replies in 35 days. If they chuse to conclude a peace immediately with him they must agree to confirm Salsette to the Company with the four Small Islands of Caranja, Elephanta, Canary, and Hog, a Factory with privileges on Bassein, and give Jamboseet or Orpad in lieu of our claim on Bassein, Broach with its Pergunnah entire; the Chout relinquished for ever in the Company's Dominions; the Expense of the English Army [to be] paid since it joined Ragonath Row; the enemies of the Nabob of Arcot [to be declared]; Enemies to the English and Mahrattas; a Settle-

[1] Ghari—a water-clock, and so the space of twenty-four minutes, which the clock takes to fill (Hobson Jobson).

ment to be made for Ragobah of 3 Lacks a year, with 1000 horse and 200 Domesticks.

Madenrow replied: Salsette we cannot give up, and the four Small Islands are like so many Bastions to it. By giving factories to the English in either Salsette or Bassein they will soon cause fresh commotions. The English have no right to claim Bassein or a country in Lieu of it; but as we wish to be on good Terms with them, but never too nearly connected after what has happened, we therefore agree to give our own Share of Broach and its Purgannah with a Country of 3 Lacks adjoining it. The Collection of the Chout of Bengal has long been in the hands of the Bhoonsula family, by very antient grants, nor can we now pretend to take it from them without an offer of something in Lieu thereof. If the Colonel is disposed to Treat about it and make a consideration in return, we will send for a proper Vakeel from the Bhoonsula to negotiate. The Colonel declared no Vakeel was necessary, as nothing would be given up in lieu of it, and it being of no advantage to the Mahrattas, as they should never get any, why pretend to such an unjust claim. . . . The Peshwa, who was the Chief of all the Mahrattas, must satisfy whatever claim the Bhoonsula had on the Company's Country in place of the Chout, and have it taken off.

Madenrow said it was true the Peshwa had the supreme power over all the Mahrattas, but there were some antient rights he could not take from them with any appearance of Justice, nor even without a War, and the Bhoonsula's right to the Chout of Bengal was one of those; but that they would engage by an Article of the Treaty never to demand the Chout on behalf of the Peshwa for the Company's present dominions, and never to assist with their Troops any Chief making such a claim. . . . If ever the Bhoonsula made such a

claim they would recommend him as much as was in their power to desist from it . . . and they are ready to admit an Article that all the Enemies of the Nabob of Arcot shall be considered as Enemies to the English and Mahrattas, provided the just demands of the Mahrattas are settled by Treaty. We have a much greater right to demand the Expenses of our Army from the English than they from us, as they began the War very unjustly. This demand cannot be agreed to. . . .

6th Febry. DEBATE AT THE PESHWA'S DURBAR.

[After much recapitulation of terms on both sides.]

The Ministers declared that they had been much disappointed by the Letters from Calcutta, and drawn into heavy Expense in waiting. They had expected that (Shasty) Salsette, which had been so unjustly taken from them, would be restored. . . . They would give up the country mentioned yesterday in lieu of Salsette, but could not make peace on any other Terms. The Colonel answered that he was not authorized to give up Salsette, but that the Supreme Council might do so. They replied very short, God will determine as he thinks best. The Colonel asked their absolute determination. They declared they knew of none but War. . . .

It was then agreed that the Colonel was to stay 5 or 6 days near Poonadhar, by which time they would assemble a Durbar for him to take his Leave. . . . When the Colonel came to take his leave they would fix a day for the Commencement of Hostilities. We then parted. Finding that the Colonel could not, or would not (as they termed it), restore Salsette, they never opened their lips about anything else.

Despatched letters to the Governor and Select Committee, Bombay.

7th Febry. Despatched a letter to the Supreme Council, Calcutta, with the above [recorded] Debate enclosed in it.

8th Febry. The Colonel sent for Dadarow, the Nabob of Arcot's vakeel, and desired he would have Hircarahs ready to proceed to Madras, as all prospect of Treating with the Mahratta Ministers was at an end. He started with surprise, and asked what was the matter. He was told they did not seem disposed to comply with any proposals made by the English, and that the peace would therefore not take place. He asked the Colonel's permission to speak to Madenrow in his name, which the Colonel positively forbade him to do, as he was determined not to make any more proposals or speak to them on the subject.

9th. Dadarow came again . . . and said . . . that he had reason to think the Ministers would waive their pretensions to Salsette here, but have it left to be determined by the Supreme Council if they knew the Colonel's ultimate resolution in other matters. The Colonel declared that they had been made acquainted with them a thousand times. On Dadarow's request the Colonel at last agreed to send Captain Macpherson once more to Madenrow to explain all matters. I went [accordingly] and asked him what he meant by wishing to be better informed of the Colonel's demands . . . and I gave them to him, again in writing, that his memory might not deceive him any more (he is 55 years old). I said that the Supreme Council from a very Honorable motive sent to offer the Mahratta Ministers peace, because they considered them as supporting the cause of the true heir to the Peshwaship. He knew we could have ten times more for continuing our assistance to Ragonath Row. I advised him

to open the eyes of the Ministers. . . . Madenrow asked me very particularly what the Expense of the Army would come to. . . . The Colonel desired me to inform him that Ragobah had agreed to pay a lack and a half a month for the Troops only, besides the Expense of the Artillery and Stores, which would amount to about Rs. 50,000 more a month. The Date of the Treaty between the Government of Bombay and Ragoba was in March last. . . . If the Ministers would give 12 Lacks towards defraying the Expense of the Army, the Colonel would ask no more on that head. . . .

10*th*. Madenrow sent an excuse. He would come to-morrow.

11*th* and 12*th*. Madenrow neither came or sent any apology.

13*th*. The Colonel sent me to Madenrow to desire they would order Camels and Coolies to be got ready for his departure, and send them next morning. Madenrow came on receiving this Message, and Dadarow with him. The Colonel being busy, desired they might be shown into my tent. I told Madenrow the Colonel was busy writing, and would not have the pleasure of seeing him this forenoon. Madenrow's pride seemed a good deal hurt at this message. . . . He promised to send me the replies required to the Memorandum I gave him on the 9th. At 8 P.M. I received a Paper containing replies, but by no means in compliance with the Colonel's demands.

14*th*. I went to Madenrow's tent. . . . He declared they would give no footing on Bassein to any man wearing a Hat, nor would they give any country in lieu of it, for it was a place we never had, nor ever should, while the Mahrattas were able to defend it, with much more to the same purpose.

In the evening I sent, by the Colonel's desire, to inform Madenrow that the Colonel would be glad to go to the Durbar to-morrow evening, and wished

to see him in the forenoon. He sent for answer that he expected to be so busy that he could not come . . . and that it was most likely that there would be no Durbar in the Evening, as the Nazam's Vakeel was to be entertained at the Peshwa's Tent, but he would send notice to-morrow.

15*th*. Not a word from Madenrow all day.

16*th*. The Colonel could not help observing the very particular attention paid to the Nizam's Vakeel and none to himself. . . . The first day the Nizam's Vakeel arrived he was carried to Visit the Peshwa, the Colonel with great difficulty 27 days after his arrival. The Nizam's Vakeel was twice entertained at the Peshwa's Tent in the first four or five days, the Colonel never but once when he went to visit, and then he was treated with a Beetle only.

The Colonel heartily tired of the whole of their Conduct, particularly by Maden Row's disrespectful behaviour, which exceeded everything I have seen in the Country to any one of the Colonel's rank. He therefore determined upon representing it to Siccaram as an insult offered to the English nation, and sent a chubdar with his Compliments, and that Captain Macpherson would wait upon him about some business. The Chubdar returned, and acquainted the Colonel that Siccaram was gone to the Hill. In an hour after a Hircarah arrived from Madenrow, and said that his Master wanted to see Captain Macpherson at his Tent. This unpolite message was all of a piece with the rest of Madenrow's conduct for some time past; however, the Colonel being determined to do nothing from private considerations to obstruct the Publick business, desired I would go and hear what he had to say, but to tell him plainly of the impropriety of his conduct throughout . . . and that I was to wait upon Siccaram Bappoo as soon as he returned from the Hill to lodge a publick complaint against him

in particular, and the tenor of their conduct in general. I went accordingly to Madenrow, and told him agreeable to the Colonel's directions. He assured me he meant no disrepect . . . and that the part of his conduct which gave ground for such supposition was owing to business. I told him that I could not conceive that his very unpolite behaviour could have proceeded from the Hurry of business alone as it had happened so often, and not only from him but the Bazar people followed his Example, for our servants could not go to market without being insulted, and every merchant and cooly said they would not serve us with anything without Madenrow's orders. He again declared he never meant the smallest disrespect, and begged I would offer the most satisfactory apology to the Colonel. . . . I told him the Colonel wished to deliver the Present from the Company to the Peshwa, and take his departure, as there was no prospect of concluding a peace. . . . He said the Ministers hoped that the Colonel would accept the Terms they offered and conclude a peace. I told him no peace could be made unless they agreed to the Colonel's demands about Salsette, the Factory on Bassein, and the country in lieu of the Latter. He said the Ministers would not hear the name of Bassein mentioned. . . . I told him it was in vain to talk in that manner. He then told me the Ministers wished to contrive a meeting between the Colonel and the Nazam's Vakeel, the Nabob Vikar ul Doulah, and that they thought the Peshwa's Durbar as proper a place as any. I said the Colonel had heard of their intention, and requested they would not give themselves any trouble on that head—that the Colonel would be very glad to see the Nizam's Vakeel whenever he chose to favour him with a Visit, which he would certainly return, and that the Nabob had already apologized for not calling upon him before on account

of his illness. We parted upon very indifferent terms.

17*th*. The Colonel received a letter from the Governor of Bombay telling him that a settlement on Bassein would not answer any purpose to the Company, &c., &c. Further, that Ragonath Row's Troops were daily deserting for want of pay, and laying one side of the Guzerat Country waste, and so with the Ministerial Army the other side almost down to opposite Bombay. The Colonel finding that a Factory on Bassein would not be of any advantage to the Company, was in hopes that the Ministers would give up a Country of three lakhs a year in the neighbourhood of Broach, and conclude a peace immediately. He would in that case take upon himself to return all the Country ceded by either Ragonath Row or Fitty Sing since the beginning of the War, on the Ministers producing proper proofs that the latter was not the absolute proprietor of the Guzerat country, and had not the power of disposing of it. . . .

The Colonel desired me to speak to Madenrow on these particulars, and to say to him that they were losing a great deal more by the Guzerat Country being laid waste by both armies than what they were disputing about. . . . I was also desired to inform him that a very formidable confederacy was forming against them composed of Country and European powers (the Dutch and Hyder Ally), of which perhaps they were little aware.

I went accordingly and informed Madenrow of all these particulars. . . . He said they were willing and ready to conclude a peace on the Terms they had already offered, but no other . . . the Ministers had given the Mahratta share of Broach and its Purgunnahs, &c., for peace . . . but he was sure they would not give up any more, nor admit of the Article for the Nabob of Arcot, unless the English would

engage not to assist him whenever he refused to pay the Just demands of the Mahratta Government. I told him it was impossible for the English not to help him against all his Enemies.

I then told him the Colonel was very desirous of delivering the present for the Peshwa and taking his departure for Bombay, that he had neither pleasure to himself or advantage to his Employers by staying longer at Poona, and that they might rest assured he would not alter the proposed Terms of the Treaty. He said Thursday was fixed upon as the lucky day for the Colonel to Visit the Peshwa. I said I could not help thinking their Lucky days were suited to their conveniences, but the Colonel would think it very inconvenient to be detained so long.

18*th*. Madenrow came to the Colonel . . . who desired a Durbar, to take his leave the day after to-morrow if the Ministers did not agree to his demands. The Colonel had a visit from the Nabob Vikar ul Dowlah.

19*th*. Heard nothing from Madenrow. In the evening the Colonel and family went to return the Nabob Vikar ul Dowlah's visit. Here we met Madenrow, though not expected. . . . I suppose he came there as a Spy for fear of any political measures being entered upon, which caused a great restraint on both parties in our conversation. Madenrow said he hoped I would call at his Tent to-morrow forenoon.

20*th*. I went to Madenrow's Tent with instructions from the Colonel to be Back soon if I did not find him disposed to come to his Terms. . . . Madenrow said they could not account for the cause of our unjust demand of a Country of three lacks in Lieu of Bassein, a place we never had, nor any right to ask it. I told him we had a thousand times talked on that subject. . . . He said there was a method in which he thought this dispute might be settled.

They would give a Country of one lack a year in lieu of the money demanded for payment of the Army and the Country of three Lacks, which they thought was a great deal more than we had any right to expect. I said that . . . 12 Lacks of Rupees was at least worth a Country of 3 Lacks in the disturbed state of their Government. . . . He then began to speak about the Tanjore Country. They understood Lord Pigot was going to restore it to the Rajah, but they wished to have it given back through the Peshwa, as the Tanjour Rajah was nearly related to the Ram Raja, and requested the Colonel to write to Calcutta on the subject. I told him it was in vain to talk about anything else till the Peace was concluded, and then the Colonel, I made no doubt, would readily forward any representations from them to the Supreme Council.

I then desired the Vakeel of the Nabob of Arcot to be called, and told him the Colonel often spoke about an Article being inserted for the Nabob as follows: "The Nabob Wallaja Subah of the Carnatic having been for a considerable course of years united to the English East India Company by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance, and the Company having ever considered his Enemies as their Enemies and his friends as their friends, it is agreed that the Mahratta Chiefs likewise shall hereafter regard him as their friend, and his Enemies as their Enemies."

I asked Madenrow if they were to have a Durbar this Evening that the Colonel might have his final answer and take his Leave. . . . At 4 P.M. I received a note from Madenrow that the Ministers would be happy to receive the Colonel in the Evening at the Durbar. We accordingly went at 7 P.M., when we met Siccaram Bappoo, Ballajee Pundit, Kishen Row Bulal, the Nabob Vikar ul Dowla, and

Madenrow, with two others I did not know. The Nabob and the two strangers prevented our entering much upon business. The Ministers intimated that such a friend as the Nabob would be a proper Mediator. The Col. said he would always be happy to have the Nabob's friendship, but no Mediator was required in the present business. . . . At last the Col. told them that . . . if they did not agree to his terms he must depart to-morrow or next day, and soon after went away, desiring me to stay and endeavour to draw a positive answer from them. They said there was no necessity for my remaining, that Maden Row would inform me with their determination in the morning. . . . [A long recapitulation of arguments follows.] I told them the Colonel would mount his horse and proceed to Bombay, leaving his Baggage behind if they did not give him carriage and cattle. . . .

21*st*. I went to Maden Row, and was followed by the Nabob of Arcot's Vakeel. . . . Maden Row began to talk about the very unjust and dishonorable method by which the English took Salsette, and that they might with equal Justice and honor fall upon the Colonel and family because they were in their power. . . . I told him Ambassadors were sacred throughout the world, even in the most Barbarous nations. That the reason the English took Salsette was because they knew the Portuguese had sent out a Fleet of Men of War, on purpose to take possession of it, and that those very Ships were at Goa at the time the Bombay Troops were sent to attack it. He replied: "A very Honorable excuse indeed for our friends to come and possess themselves of our Territories, because they knew an Enemy was coming to attack us. . . ." I said that I came to ask him what was determined upon last night, as the Colonel Expected their determined answer. He replied they were of opinion their offer

of yesterday was a great deal more than we had a right to, and they were determined to give no more. I asked him if he was serious in this reply. He said he certainly was. "Then the Colonel will take his leave to-morrow; you may depend upon it," and I came away without saying another word.

In the afternoon the Col. desired me to write a note to Maden Row to request he would acquaint the Ministers that he received letters which determined him on going away to-morrow, and he would be obliged to the Ministers to order 2 Elephants, 10 Camels, and 100 Coolies to carry his Tents and Baggage to Bombay, and that he would return them in 8 or 9 days. Maden Row sent a verbal message that he would speak to the Ministers, and that it would be settled up in the Durbar to-morrow.

22nd. At half past 1 P.M. the Col., with the Gentlemen of his family, went to the Peshwa's Durbar, held in a Tent at the Bottom of Poorundur Hill. Here the young Peshwa was sitting on the Musnud, which was surrounded by the Ministers and many of the Chiefs. The mother, with Rugunath Row's daughter and a few other women, were in a Small Tent within the Durbar Tent, just behind the Musnud, where they could hear and see everything that was said or done. The Present from the Company to the Peshwa was delivered; then a present from the Col. to the Widow. They seemed all well pleased. The Col. sent his Moonshi with his Compliments to the Widow, Gunghaboy, to beg her acceptance of a few things he had prepared for her in particular. That the Supreme Council had deputed him here from very honourable motives to settle a peace between the English and the Mahrattas, and that they desired to see the Son of Narrain Row enjoy his Just right, notwithstanding they were offered by Ragoonath Row Terms much more advantageous to the Company than those now

asked, which, however, the Ministers did not think proper to agree to. He was therefore going to take his leave, and was very much concerned he could not offer Terms more satisfactory to them. The Colonel soon after asked Maden Row if the Camels, &c., were ready, as he intended to march this evening or early in the morning.

The Durbar was cleared immediately of every person except the Colonel, Siccaram Bappoo, Ballajee Pundit, Captain Macpherson, and Maden Row. The Widow continued in the little Tent, where she could hear all the conversation. The Ministers began by saying how very desirous they were of entering into a firm peace with the English, and should be sorry to have their designs frustrated for trifles, that they would therefore offer further concessions for the sake of immediate peace. The Col. assured them that he could not alter his Terms, and that he was already come much short of his instructions; if they did not chuse to comply, the best way would be to refer everything to Calcutta and the Cessation of Arms to continue. He would engage the English army would not advance or commit any Acts of Hostility. . . . They said they would refer the business of Salsette and the Country of 3 Lacks to Calcutta, and abide by the determination of the Supreme Council; but the Peace must be concluded immediately and the Armies withdrawn.

The Colonel assured them, if they would not refer the whole, nothing could be referred except Salsette, as already agreed upon. They said Maden Row would wait upon the Colonel in the evening with their additional proposals, and we came away. Maden Row came in the evening, and . . . at last said that they would agree to the Colonel's demand of a Country of 3 lacks and the 12 lacks for the Expense of the English army, and refer Salsette to

the determination of the Supreme Council. . . . They requested the Treaty might be drawn out as soon as possible, but the Article about the Nabob of Arcot must be omitted or inserted as before mentioned.

The reason of this ready compliance is most likely owing to the following circumstances. We were given to understand that the Ministers did not acquaint the young Peshwa's mother with the Col.'s intention of going away without concluding a peace. How to inform her of this, as none of our people were permitted to go near her, was the next consideration. Anand Row, a man of some considerable rank, was formerly employed in settling all business on the part of the Peshwa with Mr Mostyn on the part of the English. He and his ancestors have for a long period been head Consumahs to the several Peshwas, but lately, from suspicions that he was privy to Mr Mostyn's going away and more favourably disposed towards the English than they thought they merited of the Mahrattas, he was out of favour with the Ministers, therefore not employed in the present negotiation; but he and his family were still taken great notice of by the Peshwa's mother; and his younger brother is now acting Consumah in her family. Through this channel the conduct of the Ministers and the Col.'s intention of going away was a few days ago conveyed to the Widow, and the very next morning she sent for Sicca Ram Bappoo and Ballajee Pundit, and they were in conference the greatest part of the day, and the day following they agreed to the Col.'s demand of a Country of 3 lacks of rupees in the Neighbourhood of Broach. It is clear the information sent to the Widow had a good effect, and she took care to be within hearing of the last conversation at the Durbar.

Febry. 1776. 23*rd* to 28*th*. Employed in drawing

out the articles of the Treaty. But the Ministers are so exceedingly attached to their own customs and so desirous of introducing reflections highly prejudicial to the Government of Bombay, and so suspicious of everything we do or say, that we find the utmost difficulty in getting them to agree to any decent form. It has been drawn out in English 4 or 5 times, and alterations made every time to please them. Yet Maden Row is so very Litigious that the Colonel at last desired it might be drawn out in persians and translated to the English, which was done accordingly. But even in this I found it a very severe task to prevail upon Maden Row to agree to its taking even the proper form of a Treaty. The Colonel took much pains to persuade them to admit an Article excluding all Europeans from having any residence on Bassein, but they most positively declared the name of Bassein should not appear upon the face of the Treaty. They had fixed upon the day after to-morrow as Lucky for signing the Treaty on the Terms they offered. If the Colonel did not like them, he might take his leave from the Durbar. They were determined to be under no restrictions, but would, if they pleased, give the French, or any other Europeans, Factories at Poonah. They could not conceive what business the English could have with who should or should not reside in the Mahratta Dominions, and they would endeavour to convince us that they could first Burn their own Country and then Bengal and every other Country possessed by us if we were determined never to be satisfied. They assured us no other European should have a residence upon Bassein, but such an engagement should never appear upon paper, peace or no peace. The Colonel said the Article about Bassein was so Trifling that it was not worth speaking about. They repeatedly said a great deal to get Surat included in this Treaty,

which the Col. avoided, as being a Stranger to the former Treaties concerning it.

29th. Reply of the Ministry to the frequent requests made by Col. Upton in favour of the Nabob of Arcot.

The Nabob does not show any inclination to settle in a reasonable manner our Just claims for the past Chout, and he has seized on Tanjour, Coulery, Oornie, and Elingar, which have been in possession of the Bhoonsula for time out of mind. He has also taken possession of Ramnotpore and Nalkoutee, which are our places of worship, and further he has imprisoned the Rajahs of these places. If the Nabob will, through the mediation of the Peshwa, release those Rajahs and Restore their Country and property, the Chout will be settled upon easy terms, provided he will pay what shall be determined upon in lieu of what is already due for the Chout, and send yearly to Poonah what shall be agreed upon in place of the Chout for the time to come; strict friendship will subsist between the Mahrattas and the Nabob. The Ministers here flatter themselves that the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council will not think their proposals unreasonable, and that they will write to the Nabob to that purpose. If this business is to be settled through the mediation of the Peshwa, they desire it may be done at Poonah. *N.B.*—The Rajah of Tanjour is related to the Ram Raja. Signed, Allan Macpherson, Persian Interpreter. Sent to Calcutta, March 5th, 1776.

[Then follows in the Journal the text of the Treaty of Purandhar in English and Persian. There is also among Colonel Allan Macpherson's papers of this period a scroll of the Treaty in Persian. The Treaty was signed on the 1st of March 1776, or 10th Muharram of the year 1190 of the Hijra. The scroll bears the signatures and seals (the latter in Persian characters) of Lieut.-Colonel J. Upton; Allan Macpherson, Persian

Interpreter; and James Paterson, Secretary. The seals have the date "1189." They seem, therefore, to have been prepared beforehand in the anticipation that the Treaty would be signed in that year. The terms of the Treaty need not be reproduced in detail here. They are summarised in Marshman's 'History,' Vol. i. p. 361; and a more full summary is given by Duff (Vol. ii. p. 321), as follows:—

"General peace between the English Company and the Mahrattas, Salsette to be retained or restored at the pleasure of the Governor General in Council. The City and Pargana of Broach and country producing 3 lakhs of revenue in its neighbourhood ceded to the English Company. Twelve lakhs of rupees to be paid for the expenses of the English Army. The cessions made by Fateh Singh, Gaekwar, to be restored by him, provided it be proved that he had no authority to make such alienations without consent of the Peshwa's Government. The Treaty between the Bombay Government and Raghoba formally annulled. The English troops to return to their Garrisons, and the Army of Raghoba to be disbanded within a month. A general amnesty to be proclaimed to all the followers of Raghoba, four only excepted who were particularly implicated in the murder of Narayan Row. On condition of Raghoba's agreeing to the terms prescribed, the Peshwa and his Ministers to allow him an establishment of 1000 horse, 200 domestics, and 25,000 Rupees monthly for his expenses—his residence to be fixed at Kopergaon on the Godavery River. No assistance to be afforded to Raghoba, or to any subject or servant of the Peshwa who should excite disturbance or rebellion in the Mahratta Dominions."

Duff writes: "Colonel Upton's correspondence bears ample testimony of sincerity and moderation; but he was ill qualified to conduct a negotiation with Mahratta Brahmins." Bombay officers naturally took the view that they could have made better terms than a Bengal officer, with no previous knowledge of the Marathas, could secure. It may be observed, however (1) that no lack of ability and tenacity on Colonel Upton's part is revealed in Captain Macpherson's Journals; (2) that Colonel Upton, in fact, carried out instructions received from Calcutta; and (3) that six years later, after a war with the Marathas of varying success, all territory acquired by British arms since the Treaty of Purundhar

was restored to the Marathas by the Treaty of Salbye concluded in May 1782. Writing to his cousin, James Macpherson, in 1783, Colonel Allan Macpherson says: "The Bombayers were highly displeased with Col. Upton's Treaty, and broke it. After an expense of two millions what have they got?—why, a loss of reputation to the Nation, Revenues to the Company, and deprived themselves of the confidence of their neighbouring Powers. The present Treaty (*i.e.*, the Treaty of Salbye), as we are circumstanced, is certainly a very good one—the Islanders are still dissatisfied. It is to be hoped the National faith is not in future to be played with at the pleasure of individuals."

Writing to the Court of Directors in 1794, Colonel Macpherson says: "Although Col. Upton had justly the merit of framing every proposition and Article of the Treaty, yet had that truly valuable man been now alive he would be the first to declare that my unremitting exertions, day and night, at the Poona Durbar till the Treaty was concluded and for a considerable time after were of much public utility."]

The Journal continues:—

1776. *March 1st.* This morning the Treaty was signed and exchanged. The Col. signed one copy and the Ministers another, which he received from them in lieu of that signed by himself—both in persians.

2nd and *3rd.* Translated the Treaty to English, and going to Maden Row's to get such alterations made as the Col. judged necessary, particularly the 7th Article (about the Guzerat country), which from the obstinacy of Maden Row had never been drawn out to my satisfaction, and I had the greatest difficulty in persuading him of the necessity of the alterations now thought necessary by the Colonel, though they made no difference in the real meaning of the Article.

4th. At noon despatched the Treaty to Bombay except the Preamble, the 13th and 20th Articles.

5th. At 12 at Night despatched the Treaty to

the Supreme Council by the way of Masulipatam—the Hircarahs have promised to get there in 14 days.

6th. Despatched a letter to the Governor and Council of Madras with the 1st and 14th Articles of the Treaty.

9th. In consequence of a Letter which the Colonel received from the Governor of Bombay, dated the 4th, that 3 ships and a Shybal [1] had been detained by the Mahrattas at Gheria and one Shybal at Arnole, orders from the Peshwa were this evening enclosed to the Governor for the Chiefs of the above places to restore the Ships immediately. . . . In talking about the letters sent to Calcutta, Madenrow said the Ministers hoped the Colonel wrote fully about Salsette, and if the Supreme Council would restore it they would consider them, as we called them, Men of Honor; but if not they must suppose them as concerned in the measures of the Bombayers, and they wished to find a method to write to our King, who, they were sure, would give them redress for the Conduct of his Servants, as well as he had done to the Nabob of Arcot. I observed that . . . if the Peshwa was desirous of addressing the King of England, the Supreme Council were the proper channel to transmit his letter. Dadarow said No; the Commodore [that is, the King's Naval Officer commanding on the Coast] would be a better as being the King's own Sirdar, and it was by such a Channel his Master, the Nabob of the Carnatic, got redressed. . . .

15th. By private letters from Bombay we are informed . . . that the Peace was proclaimed at the Head of their Troops on the 12th. Further, that the Council seem to be highly enraged at all

[1] Shybal, or shibar, was a large vessel, chiefly used in the Malabar trade. Derived from Persian "Shahi-bar," "Royal Carrier" (Hobson Jobson).

the Articles, particularly that respecting Raghonath Row, and that they will oppose them by every possible means. The Commodore and General Gordon have wrote to the Colonel that they think the peace very proper and Honorably concluded, but Raghonath Row's case is rather hard—if more acceptable terms to himself could be got it would be doing a good action.

March 16*th*. The Colonel told Maden Row that he had received letters from private friends recommending that some other residence should be fixed for Ragonath Row, as he would be afraid to trust himself so much in the power of the Ministers as he would be at Coopergang. . . . The Colonel thought it would be much to the Honor of the Ministers to fall upon such a measure as would ensure peace to their country and a satisfactory residence to Ragonath Row. Suppose Murshadabad in Bengal, provided the Supreme Council should agree to be security for Ragonath Row's not quitting the Company's Dominions . . . Maden Row thought the reply of the Ministers would be that it was time enough to make any new proposal when they received Ragobah's answer and the English troops were marched into their Garrisons. . . . In the Evening we went to the Peshwa's Darbar. . . . The Ministers said they would not make any other Terms for Ragoba but those mentioned by the Treaty. . . . The Colonel said that their best friends were persuaded Ragobah would sooner throw himself into the hands of Hyder Ally than come in to them on the present terms. . . . They declared they would give Ragobah no other Terms, and begged the English army might be withdrawn, and Ragonath Row might then go where he pleased, provided he was separated from the English. They would be under the necessity of making War upon Hyder Ally at all events, and his giving protection

to Ragobah would make the reasons the stronger and the expense no more than they must be at should Ragobah go anywhere else. . . . It appears they are afraid of suffering a man of Ragonath Row's pretensions to the Peshwaship to reside with the English.

18*th*. A letter arrived from the Governor and Council of Bombay acknowledging the Treaty, and covering a letter from Col. Keating to them expressing the high displeasure of Ragonath Row at the Terms obtained for him, and that he would not deliver himself into the hands of his Enemies and Rebellious servants, and desired permission to go into Surat, Broach, or Bombay with his family and Domesticks, which they, the Council of Bombay, agreed to.

20*th*. Another letter from Col. Keating that Ragobah declared he would not go into any of the Company's Garrisons, as it would cause them a heavy Expense, but he would do the best in his power till an answer arrived from the Company, to whom he would refer his case.

. . . .

26*th*. . . . This evening 2 Packets arrived from Calcutta despatched from Benares on the 24th and 27th ult. . . .

CHAPTER XII.

COLONEL UPTON REMAINS AT PURANDHAR AND POONA, 1ST APRIL 1776 TO 6TH MARCH 1777.

Colonel Upton remains at Purandhar and Poona for a whole year, after the signing of the Treaty, dealing with difficulties in its execution. The Mission moves to Poona on 7th June 1776. Insurrection of the Pretender, Sedasheo Rao. His defeat and capture, and execution. Two of his followers executed. Mission returns to Purandhar on 26th December. Objection of the Ministers to receive Mr Mostyn as Resident finally overcome by Colonel Upton, who takes final leave of Ministers in Peshwa's Darbar Tent on 6th March 1777. Letters written by Captain Macpherson to his friend Colonel Champion (in England) and to James Macpherson about the Treaty and about events in the Maratha country. Account of Sati, near Poona.

Captain Macpherson's Journal (*continued*).

1776. *April* 1*st*. The Colonel directed me to go and put the following questions to Madenrow.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
(1) You promised that letters should be wrote by the several Chiefs, expressing their approbation of the Peace. . . . Not one yet arrived.	(1) Yes, here is one letter from Tukojee Holkar, and we expect others every day. They will be sent to the Colonel as they arrive.
(2) You promised that when the Peace was concluded, the Peshwa should be publickly placed upon the Musnud and his Ministers firmly fixed in their offices by receiving dresses from the Ram Raja to that purpose, which will prevent any of the Chiefs opposing their measures.	(2) The Peshwa has been upon the Musnud from the beginning. He is as yet an infant, but when he arrives at his fifth year, he will go in person to receive another dress from the Ram Raja, according to the Customary form. The next will serve as an answer to what concerns the Ministers.

(3) You agree that the Peshwa is the Vizier of the Ram Raja, and receives his appointment and dress from him; he therefore should send a Copy of the late Treaty to the Raja, to whom the Colonel will also write, and the Raja should reply in writing, that he is perfectly Satisfied with the Peace, and that the several Chiefs will act according to the Treaty, which will prevent any future blame on the Ministers, and oblige the Chiefs to due obedience.	(3) The Peshwa will write to the Ram Raja a full account of the Treaty. The Colonel may also write, and send a Trusty person, who shall hear the Ram Raja declare his full approbation of the Peace, and that he is perfectly satisfied with the Conduct of the Peshwa and his Ministers, Siccaram Pundit and Ballajie Pundit, but the Raja does not write letters to any person whatever.
(4) You promised to show the Colonel former Treaties between the Mahrattas and other Powers, that he might be satisfied the present Treaty was signed and sealed according to the invariable Custom of your Government.	(4) We shall send to the Offices at Poonah for these Treaties, and shew them to the Colonel as he requests. But the present Treaty, you may depend upon it, is equally binding with any heretofore entered into by our Government.
(5) You promised some days ago that the two Agents going to Broach to settle the Country of three Lacks should proceed immediately, but they have not as yet left Poonah.	(5) They shall be directed to proceed to-morrow as far as Harry Pundit's Army, but how can they go any farther when the English have not carried any of the Articles concerning Ragonath Row into execution?
(6) The Letters and Sunnuds from Futty Sing are not arrived agreeable to your promise in the Treaty.	(6) Futty Sing despatched them once, but the Hircarahs were plundered by the way. We expect others every day.

[The Journal continues day by day till 6th March 1777, and fills three more large foolscap volumes, of which only some extracts can be given in this book.

On the 22nd April runners arrived by way of Benares bringing letters from the Supreme Council in Calcutta in answer to Colonel Upton's letters of 6th and 7th February, and by way of Masulipatam bringing an answer to his letter of 24th February. The latter letters approved the terms which he had arranged with the Maratha Ministers, and on the 5th May a copy of the Treaty signed by the Council was received. Continuous discussion goes on with the Ministers, chiefly in interviews with Maden Row. Siccaram Bappoo and

Balajee Pandit are residing "on the Hill," and only make occasional visits to see Colonel Upton. Repeated requests are made by them for modification of Articles, which Colonel Upton steadily refuses. Letters are received by Colonel Upton from the Bombay Council, from Colonel Keating, from Raghu Nath Rao, and from Fateh Singh. The 22nd May is fixed as a lucky day for exchanging signed copies of the Treaty, and these are duly exchanged in Durbar. Many details, however, remained to be adjusted, especially with regard to the territories ceded, the grants made by Fateh Singh in Guzerat, the reopening of communications, and the terms to be offered to Raghoba. The Bombay Council were vehemently opposed to the Treaty, and were strengthened in their opposition by receiving a despatch from the Court of Directors approving of the earlier Treaty which they had made with Raghoba. They were not satisfied with the cessions of territory, they delayed to separate their troops from Raghoba's, and they received him into Surat. Raghoba himself rejected the terms offered to him by the Ministers. The Maratha Ministers, on their part, delayed to make over the stipulated territories, and made continual accusations of bad faith against the Bombay Council.

The Journal continues to tell of Colonel Upton's and Captain Macpherson's continuous meetings with the Ministers, and correspondence with the Calcutta Council, the Bombay Council and Colonel Keating and General Gordon, Commanding the Bombay Troops; Mr Perrott, appointed by the Bombay Council to fix the boundaries of the ceded territory; Mr Boddam, Chief of Surat, and others.

At the beginning of June, Colonel Upton asked to be given a house in Poona, as his servants and sepoys were suffering much from the heavy rains which are falling. Siccaram Bappoo promises to provide a house, and says: "I have to request the Colonel will not any more speak about the Garden and Bungloe in which Mr Mostyn lived, as the bare mention of these names is unlucky." Mr Mostyn had been Resident at Poona representing the Bombay Council.]

The Journal.

1776. *June 4th.* The Treaty under the Peshwa's seals and signed by the Ministers (altered in every respect agreeable to the desire of the Supreme Council) was this day despatched to Lt. Paterson [the Secretary to the Mission] at Bombay, and he is directed to proceed with the Treaty on board the first ship going to Calcutta and deliver it to the Governor General. The Colonel sent my Munshy to acquaint Siccaram Bappoo that he proposed going to Poona to-morrow and pitching his Tents in the Peshwa's Garden till a house was got ready for him. Siccaram replied that the Peshwa's Garden was much at the Colonel's services, but he begged the Colonel would not think of moving to-morrow or next day, as these two days were very unlucky, but the third day would be very proper to move. The Colonel sent a note to Siccaram that he paid no attention to lucky or unlucky days, but as Siccaram requested it he would certainly put off his march. Siccaram replied that he did very right, as the first two days were really very unlucky for removing anywhere.

June 7th. Early this morning we marched from Poorunder to Poona.

[The Itinerary gives the following description of Poona :—

"To Poonah, or Puna, 12 causs. . . . Poonah is a Large City on the Banks of the Moolamoota Nuddy. There is a good Wooden Bridge on the River, Strong enough for Guns, &c. Poonah is an open City, with Several very broad Streets, and the Buildings, many of them, made of Bricks and Stone and very Lofty. The Peshwa's Palace is on the north side of the City, Surrounded with a High Stone Wall with a few Bastions and 2 or 3 Guns Mounted. From these the Evening and Morning Guns, Salutes, &c., are fired. The Artillery Yard is on the South side. Guns, &c., are Cast here. Poonah is in a very pleasant fertile Valley."

On 12th June, Maden Row informs Captain Macpherson that "a man who calls himself Sedasheo Row [1] is raising an insurrection in the Cokun Country. The Ministers request the Colonel will acquaint the Council of Bombay that the English may keep clear from having any connection with him."

Many more discussions with Maden Row and Balaji Pundit are recorded. When the rainy season was coming to an end Colonel Upton repeatedly asked that arrangements should be made for his departure, but the Maratha Ministers insisted that he should remain until the terms of the Treaty should be fully carried out. Later they proposed that he should stay till the Bombay Council should send a Resident to Poonah. On the 2nd of October, at the invitation of the Ministers, he went to Purandhar to meet some of the Maratha Chiefs, and on the 7th of October met Siccaram Bappoo, Tukoji Holkar, and Harry Pundit in Darbar. Sindhia had also come for the Darbar, but left to deal with Sedasheo Rao. Discussions went on through October about the Parganas to be ceded and about the seizure of the ship "Aurora" by the Pretender Sedasheo Row.

On 11th October Colonel Upton sent letters "to the Nabob Dhansa and the Nabob Vikar ud Dowlah to apply to the Nizam for passports to march through his country to Masulipatam."

The Journal for 22nd October notes: "This being the Daserah, the Mahratta Chiefs with their Troops went out and laid waste several fields of corn according to an antient custom that they must always on this day plunder something from their friends if they have no Enemies to plunder."

On 2nd November: "All the Guns on the Fort of Poorundur and the other Forts in this Neighbourhood were fired on account of the complete Victory gained over the [rebels]; and the Ministers had the additional good news from Panwelly that the person called the 'Bowe,' when attempting to escape either to Bombay, Salsette, or the Cokun, was taken by Ragujee Angria, and that he was now prisoner at Colaba Fort with many of his principal Adherents."

[1] A pretender, who gave out that he was Sedasheo Rao (cousin of Balaji Peshwa), who was the leader of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat, 1761. The real Sedasheo fell in that battle (Duff, Vol. i. p. 325).

On 3rd November Colonel Upton returned to Poona. Correspondence goes on with the Bombay Council about the territories to be ceded, about Ragonath Row, who had been received in Bombay, about the "Bowe," and about his adherents who took refuge in Salsette; and Colonel Upton has many discussions with Balaji Pundit on these matters.

On 25th November Sindia, with the person called the "Bowe," arrives in the neighbourhood of Poona.

The entries in the Journal for the 6th and 14th to 17th December are as follows:—

Journal.

1776. *6th December.* A Large Tent was pitched about a Mile from Poona, where a Darbar was held for the examination of the Bowe, Sindia, Angria, Appa Dhu Dhu (the latter a very old man, who was intimately acquainted with the Real Bowe), Madenrow Sidashew, with several other Chiefs and Clerks who were formerly employed under Sidashewrow, and a great many people, who from their personal knowledge of the true Bowe, or Curiousity, assembled to hear the Examination.

The person called the Bowe being brought to the Tent, none of the people present knew him as the real Sidashewrow. He was asked if he knew any of them. He answered No. They put several Questions to him, and observed to him that the Bowe was master of the Mahratta Language, wrote a fine hand, and in a good style, and put his signature to many papers now in the Publick offices—that he perfectly understood the Dhurumshaster and our Method of Worship—of all these which do you possess? Your Colour, Size, Marks, or Voice do not in the least resemble his. Providence and time might have occasioned alterations in the latter Circumstances, but your knowledge of the Dhurumshaster, the Language, &c., cannot well have left

you. The Bowe was a native of the Mahratta Country, and spoke the Language in its purity; you speak it very indifferently, and like a learner—what can be the cause of this? You pronounce QUOKRECOKUN like the natives of Hindostan. You wrote your name lately *Sidasheewa Chimnajee;* this was wrong—the name is *Sidashew.* Exclusive of this, the Bowe had the mark of a wound in the side just above the Hip Joint. You have a mark under the Arm-pit, and this also is not like a proper wound, but one done by Art. The Teeth of your upper Jaw come down the outside of your Lower teeth, which was not the case with the Bowe. Now behold, we lay the Toolsie and Dhurumshaster upon your head, tell the truth and say who thou art. If you are Sidashewrow Row Bowe, the son of Chumnajee Appa, Say so, and We will all obey you. We are your Servants, and will run in your Swary to the Peshwa's house at Poonah, and place you upon the Musnud. We will send for the Nanah Purnaveese Ballajee Pundit to come to meet you. If you are not the Bowe, say the truth and tell us your Name and from whence thou art. When this oath was administered to him, with the Toolsie and Dhurumshaster on his head, he acknowledged: "I am not the Bow; those with me led me Astray and made me assume the name. I am in reality a Deismook Brahmin from Kanouge. My name is *Sooknedhan.* My father's name *Inind Ram,* my mother's name *Inpoorna,* my wife's name Raji Koour, and my Grandmother's name by the mother's side Minmot. My Father in Law's house is at Furroughabad, and my own house at Kanouge. I have four Brothers, who were Merchants in the neighbourhood of Calpee. I know not whether they are alive or dead. If you chuse I will write a letter to my friends at Kanouge, and deliver it to you to be Sent by any of the Sircar's people—the answer will confirm all I have said."

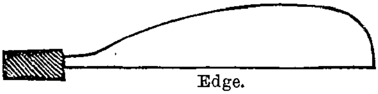
N.B.—The above was taken from a Trusty Hircarah who was Sent to attend the Examination.

14*th*. I attended the Colonel to the Peshwa's Durbar in the City this afternoon at 4 oclock, where we met Ballajee Pundit, Sindia, and several other Chiefs. After the usual complimentary questions, Sindia observed that the Conduct of the Council of Bombay had been such lately, and still is, that the Validity of the Treaty concluded by the Colonel was greatly doubted by many of the Mahratta Chiefs. He therefore wished the Colonel would freely give him his Sentiments on the Subject. The Colonel assured him that the Treaty would be preserved inviolably by the English, of which the Ministers and all the Chiefs would be fully convinced, as soon as answers arrived from the Superior Council to the Letters sent about Ragonath Row's Residence at Bombay. This seemed to give him much pleasure. He then said he hoped the orders would soon arrive, that the Colonel might return in proper time agreeable to his wish, and they also to their respective Homes. The Colonel said the orders would certainly come in proper time, tho' he could not promise to wait for them; however, that was of no consequence, as they would all see.

Sindia took much pains to point out the necessity of the Colonel's continuance at Poonah till the arrival of the above orders, and the Colonel, on the other hand, assured him it was not necessary, and we soon took leave.

16*th*. Bappoojee Punt, a Relation to Harry Pundit, was killed in the Battle of Panyputt. A follower of the Seditious [*sic*] (Bowe), who took his name in the late disturbance, was this afternoon tied to the feet of an Elephant, and dragged through the Streets of Poonah till he was dead and torn to pieces. This impostor was said to be of the Buckal or Banian Cast.

17*th*. The person called the Bowe was this afternoon put upon a common open Hackery, and carried through the principal streets of Poonah surrounded by a Large body of Cavalry. There was a man at each corner of the Hackery with a drawn Dishna, or broad knife, not unlike those used by Butchers, but very heavy, and the blade about half a yard in length and of this form.



Another man walked before the Hackery with a common Hindostan Tent Mallet dyed red. Before he was carried out of the City he was taken off the Hackery, and ordered to mount a Camel, which he refused, till, seeing his guard absolute in their orders, he took the Zoonar (or Brahmin String) from his neck and broke it to pieces, and was then forcibly put upon the Camel. The reason for breaking his String before he mounted was that no Brahmin will mount a Camel or an Ass till they are debased. He was therefore resolved his Cast should not suffer.

He was carried on the Camel to the Banks of the Moolamoota River, without the City, near Sheikh Silah's Mosque. Just as the Camel bent his two forefeet to lay down, the man who carried the Mallet threw the Unfortunate prisoner from off the Camel to the Ground, and instantly Struck him on the right and left Temples with the Mallet, which broke his Skull, and the brains flew about. His body was left on the Ground, and all the Guards returned.

At 5 P.M. Doulat Gheer Goosein (who was said to be the first man that advised the deceased to take the name of Sidashewrow) was tied to the feet of an Elephant and dragged through the City till he was dead and torn to pieces, and the remainder of his body left on the outside of the Town for the

Dogs to eat. This man was to have been Executed before the impostor, but he requested he might not, as he was his Priest. The above Goosein was brought up by the same man, who nourished and afterwards adopted as his Son Rajah Heemit Bahadur, who was in Sujah ul Doulah's Service.

[On 26th December Colonel Upton marched to Purandhar, and asked the Ministers to fix a day for a Durbar at which he could take his leave. The Ministers besought him to stay till a Resident should arrive from Bombay, but Colonel Upton declined to stay longer. The Vakil of the Nabob of Arcot, Dada Row, then came to persuade the Colonel to remain, and said that if he did not, hostilities would begin before he could get to Masulipatam. On this persuasion Colonel Upton agreed to delay his departure for a few days. On the 8th January 1777, Colonel Upton hears from the Bombay Government that they have appointed Mr Mostyn to be Resident at Poona. On the 9th he receives a letter from the Maratha Ministers refusing to receive Mr Mostyn as Resident, but stating that any other gentleman will be received and properly treated. The Bombay Government decline to send any other Resident, and Colonel Upton finally persuades them to accept Mr Mostyn. He takes his leave in Darbar on the 20th January—the Peshwa seated on the Masnad and the Ministers and many Chiefs present. Mr Mostyn's coming is delayed, however, by illness, and Colonel Upton stays on and adjusts details of the Treaty. He takes his final leave of the Ministers, Siccaram Bappoo and Ballajee Pandit, in the Peshwa's Darbar Tent at the bottom of Purandhar Hill on 6th March 1777. He reminds them that he had repeatedly represented to them the impropriety of reproaching the Council of Bombay in their letters to the Governor-General. He promises to introduce the Peshwa's Vakil to the Governor-General at Calcutta, and to use his endeavours to have "proper orders" sent to the Council of Bombay.

Letters addressed by Captain Macpherson to his friend Colonel Champion in England describe fully the Treaty and the subsequent negotiations. He wrote on 7th March 1776: "Although the Peace may not, apparently, be so advantageous to the Company as supporting the Usurper, Raganot Row,

yet I believe it to be *much more* so in reality, because, placing an Usurper on the Masnud must be at the expense of many thousand lives, could we do it. For, give me leave to tell you, Colonel, that by the best accounts I have been able to learn, our troops now in the Field with Ragonat Row do not exceed a thousand, including Europeans and Sepoys. His own army is much reduced; those he has, ill paid, very mutinous, and running about the country for plunder. This is the army which our friends on the Island declare able to beat the Ministerial army of near a lack, well furnished, and encamped within a few causs of them, besides many other troops. . . . On the whole, I think we are well rid of a war which too much resembled the Roheellah business, and might, had it been continued, involve all our settlements in war with the Mahrattas, who, I need not tell you, Sir, are the most formidable enemy we could have to do with in the eastern world, as well as the most destructive. I mean this entirely for your own information, to prevent your being imposed upon by any accounts sent home by the people, who, in violation of Treaty, began this war, and therefore may, like others, think it necessary to declare, be it right or wrong, we must now support it."

On 22nd November 1776 he wrote from Poona to Colonel Champion: "The Peace, as mentioned in my letter of 7th March, was concluded, but the measures adopted by the Council of Bombay ever since have been in direct opposition to those wished for, recommended, and ordered by the Superior Council, and many of them deemed by the Mahrattas as absolute infringements of the late and former Treaties, and I am sorry to inform you that, in my opinion, they justly bear that appellation. What these gentlemen can mean by it they know best, but I should imagine the authority vested in the Superior Council by the Legislature of Great Britain is not to be trampled upon with impunity. I will only give you a few instances of their conduct.

"Our army did not separate from Ragonot for near three months after the Peace was concluded; he was with his troops in the neighbourhood and under the protection of Surat Fort. At last, having no money, he disbanded his army, and was himself taken into Surat under our protection. Here he continued till the beginning of August, when positive

order arrived from Fort William, on which he left Surat and went to a place near Damian, the Portuguese Settlement, where he continued ever since, till a few days ago he again went to Bombay, where he was, we are informed, received with open arms. He is there now. . . .

"Another circumstance no less extraordinary is the following: About sixteen years ago the then Peshwa's nephew, Sidashiurow, commanded the Mahratta army against the Abdallies in the Battle of Panyputt, where he was supposed to have been killed. However, a man, about seven years ago, appeared, who called himself Sidashiurow, and said that he was left for dead on the field of battle; but Providence being more favourable to him, he found means to get, wounded as he was, to some humane person who in some measure cured his wounds, but having neither money nor friends, he could not before acquaint the Peshwa with his escape. Upon examination by the Peshwa he was declared an impostor, and confined for life in a fort—his being a Brahmin prevented his life being taken.

"He continued in this confinement till, about eight months ago, the disturbed state in which he saw the country, owing to the countenance given Ragonot Row by the English, gave him an opportunity of getting out of the confinement. . . . A number of people joined his standard and called him the True Bowe, or Sidashiurow, and at the end of the rains he marched his army within a few causs of Poona. The Peshwa's army was commanded by Mahadjee Sindia (who was in Hindostan), who at last got him out of his Strongholds in the Cokun country, and a battle was fought on the 27th ult., in which Sidashiurow's army was totally defeated, and he made his escape with a few people to the sea, embarked on boats, and went towards Bombay, where he was going to land, but no European Gentlemen having been sent to meet him he put back again, and was taken prisoner by Angria, whose Fort is about 30 causs from Bombay.

"This Fort is called Colabah, and to be seen in Jefferie's map. But, what do you think, Sir, of the Governor of Bombay having sent to Angria (who is subject to the Peshwa) to demand his prisoner should be sent to Bombay, and if refused threatened to attack his Fort. This I saw in a letter from Angria to the Ministry. However, Angria was not to be

frightened into compliance; he therefore marched with his prisoner towards Poona. The Ministers, you may suppose, called out loudly against these measures by our friends upon the Island, asking, for Godsake, what have the English to do with what the Peshwa does with his own subjects who are in rebellion against the State. . . .

"Col. Upton has long wished to return to Bengal, but the extraordinary behaviour of the Islanders put it out of his power, for had he gone away, hostilities must have commenced between the Government of Bombay and the Mahrattas. And yet there is neither troops or money at Bombay, though they seem bent upon war against the Mahratta Empire, who, you know, can do a great deal of mischief in a country where they can go with their cavalry; but I am afraid that our friends are only thinking about their own Island, where no Cavalry can injure them, forgetting how open the Company's Territories in Bengal are to depredation and how often the Mahrattas in former days found their way there. . . . My good friend, all the mischief is owing to orders being sent from Home to the several Settlements, relative to Peace and War, independent of the Council General, which must always be attended with fatal consequences."

He writes in similar terms to his cousin, James Macpherson, on 27th November 1776, and says: "I hope you will endeavour to prevail upon Governour Johnston and your other friends who may have the leading hand in the Hon. Company's affairs not to give any orders in consequence of the representations from Bombay till they receive letters from the Council General on the subject."

Among Colonel Macpherson's papers is the following account of a Sati of a Hindu woman, which he apparently wrote, or revised, in Calcutta some years later for the information of the Asiatic Society:—

"When I was near Poona in the year 1776 a Hindoo woman committed herself to the flames in a manner so different from that in which the women on the Banks of the Ganges burn themselves with their dead husbands that I hope it may be thought worthy of a place in the records of the Society: I was present at this Horrid Ceremony, and can therefore deliver the account as an absolute fact.

"We had our Tents pitched near the village of Sanson,

about 8 or 9 Causs from Poona. I observed a large fire about a mile from our Tents, and was informed that a woman whose Husband was missing since the famous Battle of Paniputt (sixteen years before), having a few days ago received certain intelligence of his having been killed in that Engagement, had resolved upon following her beloved Consort through the hottest flames that could be made. Her friends and relations used every argument to persuade her from such a ridiculous idea as altogether unnecessary by the strictest rules of their religion after so long a space of time having elapsed since his death. However, all their entreaties proved ineffectual. She continued firm to her resolve, and on the 12th of February 1776, the fifth day after she received the fatal news, she left her own house early in the morning dressed in red-coloured clothes with a Turban formerly worn by her husband in her arms, and accompanied by a great number of Brahmins and others. She first prayed before all the Stone images in the village, and afterwards went three times round the outside of it on foot till the last time she was fatigued, and on that account put upon an Elephant. During this Ceremony she gave many of those round her Beetle and a kind of red mixture. Questions were put to her as they occurred to the Spectators. She replied to each as seemed most eligible, which was considered a certain prophecy. She told them that the time would come, and was not very far distant, when their Country would be in the possession of the Enemies of their Religion.

"She at last arrived at the edge of the fiery Pit, and stood upon a flat stone with the figures of the soles of two human feet cut upon it, where she remained for about a Minute, Making Salams to all the people round by way of taking leave. She then took the turband into both hands, and crying out, Hurr, Hurr, Hurr, leaped undauntedly into this furnace, which burned with all the rage of a Mount Vesuvius, continuing the above expression so long as she had breath, which was not above two or three Seconds—great quantities of Ghee, straw, and sandlewood being immediately thrown over her to increase, if possible, the violence of the flames, and to quicken the dissolution of this horrid spectacle.

"This pit was about 12 feet in length, 8 broad, and 6 feet deep, and kept full of fire burning for three days, which made

it so very hot that I could not go nearer than 5 or 6 feet to the edge a few Minutes before she arrived. After she was completely consumed to ashes her relations watched the Pit narrowly for three nights for fear the smallest quantity of the ashes should be carried away, which they reckon unlucky for her family and friends. They have, besides, an idea that ashes of women who follow their departed husbands through the flames, if thrown upon any persons asleep, will prevent their being awakened by any noise for a time, and that thieves or ill-disposed persons might do mischief if in possession of such a Charm."

CHAPTER XIII.

RETURN MARCH TO BENGAL, 1777.

Return march to Bengal in eighty marches. The mission leaves Purandhar on 7th March 1777. Goes by Kanouly, Soopa, Koorumba, the Doonda Pass, Beema River, Peergaun; enters the Nizam's Dominions, Carmullah, Perinda, Tooljapore, Balkee, Bidar (described), Hyderabad (described), Golconda (mentioned but not visited). Story of Tanah Shaw. Enters Company's Dominions at Moongool. Rajamundry, Vizanagram, Ganjam, Peeply, Cuttack (fully described), Jaajpore, Bhuderuck, Balasore. Arrive in Calcutta, 1st July 1777.

Colonel Upton began his return march from Purandhar to Bengal on 7th of March 1777. There is an Itinerary (without dates) giving the daily marches. It mentions among other places the following: Kanouly, Pandousir, Soopa, Koorumbah, "a compact Town with a large building for the Worship of Behwannu (Bhowáni], one of the great Hindu Goddesses," Gardoni, the Doonda Pass, the Beema River, Peer Ganw, "a considerable Town with a large stone Fort, on which there appeared but to be one Gun mounted—this town is in the Jaghir of Mahadajee Sindia, the Mahratta Chief of Eugeene [Ujain]"; the Lutburra Nulla, "which divides the Mahratta dominions from the Nizam's"; Carmullah, "a Considerable City, in which there is a very pretty Stone Fort in good order, with a double Wall and a Ditch between them 11 feet deep, as well as a large Ditch round the Outer Wall. The Inner Fort has 22 round Bastions, on which are

18 Guns mounted, some of them large"; Perinda, "a large City with a Strong Stone Fort in good order, and on the same plan as the Fortifications at Carmulla, with this difference, that the Citadel has but 17 Bastions and the Outer Wall 20 Bastions. A large Gun and two Swivels on each of the Bastions of the Citadel." Kandooy, "in a Jaghir, which Beemrow Panseh, the Commanding Officer of the Peshwa's Artillery, has from the Nizam"; "Crossed the Nagjeery River, in all four times, Road very passable with Guns, &c."; Tooljapore, "famous for a number of Pagodas dedicated to the Goddess Behwanny"; Kundalla, . . . Konla, "in Selingha Purgunnah, which is in the Jaghir of Kallae Begham, the Nizam's eldest sister"; Surrouree, "Encamped near a Milky Hedge. There are two very high Octagons in this Village. . . ." The Teeira River . . .; Hoolsur . . .; the Chilka River . . .; Balkee, "a large Town, surrounded by a Wall with a number of Round Bastions, the Residence of Raja Chiter Singh [of whose Father, 'Raja Ram Churn, a Chief of high rank under the Nizam,' an account is given]"; . . . the Jurna Nuddy, "where are several Pagodas dedicated to the God Kanderow, near which are seven small Tanks which have each some extraordinary virtue—one of them cleanses every person who washes in it from his Sins, according to the Hindoo faith. It is said that from 30 to 40 thousand Hindoos come annually to pray to this God and wash in the Tanks. The situation is pleasant and romantick." Beeder: "This city was the residence of the Sultans of Bamania. It was then in its utmost splendour, of which there are but a few ruined Remains to be seen. The City is fortified all round, with a strong Stone Wall, with many round Bastions and a dry Ditch about 3½ fathoms deep and pretty broad. The Wall of this Fort resembles greatly that of Mongheir, and is about 3 Causs in Circum-

ference, with about 150 Guns, large and small, mounted. . . . The place stands upon an open plain except the East side, which is upon a rising ground, or rather a Hill about 100 yards high. The only road for Guns up to the Fort on this side is under the S.E. Bastion, but infantry can easily ascend all parts of the Eminence. . . . The remains of some good buildings are still to be seen, Particularly the Palace of Sultan Ahmood and a very pretty Mosque, the latter painted like China ware. . . . Another handsome Mosque just without the Ditch, and a Large College, which was built by Sudder Jehan, where young people were sent from all Quarters to be instructed in the Sciences. The whole in ruins. The Town is supplied with good water from a Tank about 100 yards square, just without the Palace ditch. . . . Beeder is reckoned famous for Tootanaig[1] inlaid with silver. . . ." Singham: "A pagoda in this village is dedicated to Mahadeu. Great numbers of people assemble at certain seasons to worship." Monpillee: "The country —much better cultivated than any we have seen in our journey from Poona." Sehgardee Pet, with a Fort. . . . Husainshah, Wullus Durgah, Hyderabad [which is reached in 26 marches—apparently early in May]. "Bhaug Nagur (now Hyderabad) stands on the south bank of Musah River, which runs very rapid in the Rains. At present it has not more than 2 feet Water. This City was a considerable place, time out of mind, but did not arrive at its full Extent or Splendour till the Reign of Hyder Shaw, who gave it the name of Hyderabad. It is surrounded by a High Stone Wall, which was begun by Abdoolah Shaw and finished by Nizam ul Moolk, father of the present Nizam. A few small guns are mounted. The Wall is no defence against

1 "White copper," or spelter. See Hobson Jobson.

Artillery, but does very well against Cavalry. Remains of the Palaces of the antient Kings or Sultans are still to be seen. The Char Mahal, or four Palaces, of which two only are standing, were formerly very large and Magnificent, but now in ruins. Part of the Ground on which these buildings stood is now covered with Corn. In the Center of the City is a Dome with four Minarates, pretty high, and perceptible at a considerable distance from the City. Under this Dome, which is supported by 4 Arches, there was formerly a fountain, near which the Kings used to pass much of their time in the heat of the day. Even now, though partly in ruins, people retire to this place to enjoy the cool air in the hot weather. The next Relic of the ancient Grandeur of this City is the Gate and part of the Wall of Daad Mahal, or Palace of Justice. In the Reigns of Abdoolah Shaw and Tanah Shaw a large Chain hung down at this Gate, the upper end of which was fastened in an apartment where those Kings (and some of their Predecessors) were used to give Audience for certain hours every day. Any person, of whatever rank, who thought himself aggrieved, on shaking the Chain of Justice, was called into the Presence to represent his grievances. The Mosques most deserving notice in the City are the Mecca Mosque, the Bigham's Mosque, and Musah Khawn's Mosque, which are in good repair. The City in general is on the decline, except the Chouke or Grand Bazar, which is filled with very good Shops and Houses. There are 16 other Bazars or Markets; and it is said that there were 52 in the Reign of Tana Shaw. The City has four principal Gates—the West, commonly called the Saak Gate, outside of which there is a Stone Bridge over the Musah River; the East, or Bundry Gate; the South, or Heerapore Gate; the North, or Delhi Gate. Gousha Mihil, or the Corner Palace, about

½ a mile from the Delhi Gate, is a Spacious and Lofty house, fit for the Residence of a Prince. The foundation of this Magnificent Palace was laid by Abdoolah Shaw, and finished by Tanah Shaw, his son-in-law and successor, in the year 1096 Hijira. A Large Pucca Tank in front of the House is about 500 yards square, and the compound or Wall which encloses the Palace and Tank about 1000 yards square. Nizam ul Mulk used to hold his Durbar and pass much of his time here, but since it has been little attended to, except when Monsieur Bussy went to Hyderabad. It then had some repairs for his residence, and now and then the roof is mended to prevent its falling. The Nizam has a Palace at Hyderabad and another at Auringabad, with Officers of the Household, &c., at each. He would from choice reside at the Latter on account of the water, air, and situation; but its Vicinity to the Mahratta Dominions makes it rather troublesome. He therefore resides in general at Hyderabad, which is also more in the center of his Dominions, and more convenient for sending Troops to keep off his most restless and troublesome Neighbour, Hyder Naig.

We had no opportunity of seeing the Fort of Golconda, which stands on a Hill about 3 causs West North West of the City. It is said to be very strong, with a great number of Guns mounted. The principal Inhabitants and Bankers of Hyderabad are permitted to have Houses in this Fort, to which they retire with their money, &c., on any alarm. It is said Auringzebe besieged this Fort for 12 years, and at last got possession of it by the Treachery of Musa Khawn, who opened the Gate at night and admitted the King and his Army. Tanah Shaw was at this time amusing himself at a Dance in the Citadel or Upper Fort; on being informed that the King of Delhi was in possession of the Fort he desired he might be shown to the Palace, and met

him at the door. After saluting him in the most friendly manner, he took him by the hand and led him to the Throne, and with a smile said, 'I have had my time. It is now Your Majesty's turn. I beg you will sit upon the Throne as more deserving of it, and we will then amuse ourselves at the dance.' The King of Delhi was easily persuaded, but the Unfortunate Tana Shaw had little amusement afterwards except in a prison. The City of Hyderabad within the Wall is about 2 causs in length, 1½ broad, and about 5 round."

The March proceeded to Hyaat Nagur, Mulkapur —"the road marked every causs by pillars about 18 feet high." The 34th March (8 marches from Hyderabad) brings the returning Mission to Madhehwaram and Moongal villages in the Company's Territories. They pass Fort Moongool. "The Nizam's Dominions end on the West Bank of the Palleree Nuddy, and the Company's country commences on the East Bank." Nabob Pete "Belongs to the Company." . . . The 44th March brings them to Rajamundry on the Goodoury [Godavery] River, "about 2 miles broad in the Rains, at present about half a mile. The Fort of Rajamundry in ruins. Fine large boats at the Ferry fixed together with a platform to carry Guns, &c. These boats will carry a Battalion of Sepoys and their Guns in 3 trips." Pedapur, "a large town with a Mud Fort belonging to Rajah Akram, under the Musulipatam Council." . . . 55th March: Vizanagram, "a large Town with a good Fort under the Northern Hills, and a Very Large Tank. This is the Residence of the Raja Seetiram Bose, subordinate to the Council of Vizagapatam. The country well cultivated, and the valley all the day's march exceedingly pretty and well watered." . . . 57th March: Chicacole River and Town, "A Battalion of Sepoys stationed here. The last 4 causs covered with

Jungle." . . . Runkun . . . Boanpar Nulla: "The tide comes into this Nulla, which makes it difficult and very dangerous for cattle to cross. Some of our Horses and Camels sank so deep in the mud that the assistance of a number of people was needed to Extricate them. But by going nearer the Hills the River can easily be crossed without danger." . . . 63rd March: Hitchapore, "founded by Raja Hitcharam. There is a Battalion of Sepoys here under the Ganjam Council." . . . 65th March: Ganjam, "The Fort at the mouth of the River is small, but very compact." Budgercotte, "The end of the Chilka Lake comes close to the road. . . . The Mahratta District begins at Palliapokur." . . . 68th March: Manickpatan, "There are no Boats on the first Branch of the Chilka Lake, except one canoe to cross the Dauk Hircarahs. The Foudgedar of Manickpatan sent some Dinghies, and we collected others from the Villages, and got our people and cattle over pretty well." . . . 69th March to Jaggernot [they arrive there early in June], "A large Town filled with pagodas and other Hindoo Worshiping places. It is said that some Lacks of people assemble annually at this place to worship, who are all obliged to pay duties according to their Circumstances." Ahmidpore: "The country well cultivated, but very low, so much so that the road for the greatest part is on causeways built on purpose." Peeply Shawpore: "Country in general well cultivated, but near the road some jungle, where there are many tigers." Noor Peeply: "A small town, the residence of the Amil, who is said to have 22 Purgannas and 35 Forts under his command, subordinate to Cuttack. There are many Mahometans in this place, principally Patans. The number of Mosques and the ruins of other antient buildings give reason to suppose that this was formerly a place of consequence. At present it is a small town

with Choppered or thatched houses and an old mud Fort. The country to the north open and well cultivated for the first 6 miles, and then covered with Jungle, where there are a great number of Tigers, very Ravenous, which makes this road dangerous for Travellers. . . . People are frequently killed by Tigers." 73rd March to Cuttack: "The River Kutt Jury near Cuttack is about 1200 yards broad, and in the Rains very Rapid. The City of Cuttack is entirely open Except at the West Angle, where there is an old Walled place in ruins called Lalbagh. Here the Subahdar resides. No Guns appeared mounted on this Wall, but some were under a shade on Field Carriages. The great scarcity of Grain last year at this place has left it very thin of Inhabitants. The City has no buildings worth notice, and seems in a Ruined state, and the Inhabitants oppressed with heavy taxes, &c. It is about 5 miles round, but, including the Small Detached Bazars and Villages, it is about 10 Miles in Circumference. The Subahdar pays 14 Lacks of Rupees a year to the Boonsula [Bhonslay] at Naigpur, and spends from 8 to 9 Lacks annually in that Durbar to support his interest. The Fort of Bara Batty stands about ½ a causs N.W. of the City, and is said to be very strong with two Stone Walls. The Inner Fort or Wall has 8 round Bastions, with 20 Guns mounted. The outer Wall is Square, and surrounded with a Wet Ditch about 30 yards broad, very deep, and a great number of Alligators in it. Batty means 20 beeghas of land, so that the Fort of Barra Batty covers 240 Beeghas. The Maha Nuddee runs about ½ a causs N.W. of the Fort. A Causs above the City the Kutt Jury divides from this River, and runs close to the S. side of Cuttack. The course of both Rivers is from West to East. They are very rapid in the Rainy Season, and sometimes overflow their banks. There are several very

large boats on them, some tied two and two, and Decked for crossing Guns, Troops, &c. There are 4000 Cavalry, mostly Afghans, now at Cuttack. In case of necessity it is said they can raise about 10,000, including Ateets, Braggies,[1] &c., &c. The Maha Nuddy is about a Causs broad from Bank to Bank. We forded it a mile below the Ferry at 3 feet water, it being at this time (June) very low. . . . The Beerpa Nuddy, which is a Branch of Maha Nuddy, runs N.E. to under the Hills to the Westward of the Road." . . . 76th March to Jaajpore: "The Byturnee runs close to Jaajpore, and is near ½ a mile broad. It has about 3 feet of water in it now, but in the rains can only be crossed in boats. The Byturnee is by the Hindoos reckoned the first Gate to Juggernath. They Shave their heads and bathe in this river, either going to or coming from Visiting their much-adored Idol. Jaajpore is a large straggling town, where much cloth is made. The country near Dhamnugar is infested with Tigers, which have killed several people lately." . . . Bhuderuck: "A large Village, where a great deal of white cloth is made. The Jungle is infested with Tigers, which have killed several people lately. This place is the Residence of the Foudgedar. Thick Jungle all the way to Surrong, which is infested with Tigers." Ekhtiarpore: "The country one continued jungle almost all the way. The rain has made the road very heavy and disagreeable." 80th March to Ballasore: "The country near Ballasore well cultivated, and the road in dry weather good."

[Here the Itinerary ends. The Mission arrived in Calcutta on 1st July 1777.]

[1] Ateet=Atith, a wanderer or fakir. Braggie=Bairagi, an ascetic.

CHAPTER XIV.

1777 TO 1780.

CALCUTTA AND CHUNAR, CAWNPORE, CALCUTTA AGAIN, AND JALASORE IN MIDNAPORE.

Captain Allan Macpherson is commanding the 15th and afterwards the 3rd and 1st Battalion of Sepoys at Calcutta, Chunar, Cawnpore, Calcutta again, and Jalasore in Midnapore. His remittances to Europe in diamonds and pagodas. Prices of rough diamonds and of various gold coins. Mention of Sir John Clavering and his family. Feeling of military officers towards Hastings. Captain Macpherson's travelling library in 1777. He protests successfully against being sent on service against the Marathas, 1778. "Buntin" colours for Sepoy Battalions. His disappointment in regard to promotion. A letter of Warren Hastings to James Macpherson in regard to his military patronage.

[A LETTER dated 29th October 1776 from General Sir John Clavering, received by Captain Allan Macpherson before the return of the Purundhar Mission, had informed him that he was appointed to the command of the 15th Sepoy Battalion, and he apparently commanded this Battalion in Calcutta for the latter part of the year 1777.

He has saved some money, as his letters and diaries record. In letters written from Calcutta in August 1777 he informs his agents in London, Messrs Mayne & Graham, that in his ships of last season his friend, John Murray, who had drawn pay for him during his absence from Bengal, had remitted diamonds on his account to the amount of 12,000 rupees. This remittance is invoiced as a "bulse"[1] of rough diamonds, rough small rutties 403, bought of Muneejee, estimated to be worth 12,000 Company's rupees, or £1350 at

[1] From Portuguese "Bolsa," a purse.

2s. 3d. per rupee. It was consigned to Messrs Mayne & Graham, and sold for £1009, 7s. 3d., less £112, 19s. for insurance and duties—nett £896, 8s. 3d. Another bulse remitted in the previous year to Colonel Champion and Mr James Macpherson, valued at 17,095 rupees, sold for £1823, 5s. 11d., less insurance and duties, £152, 8s. 10d.—nett £1670, 17s. 1d. Notes written apparently at this time show the prices of rough diamonds and of various gold coins :—

PRICE OF ROUGH DIAMONDS OF A GOOD QUALITY FROM FIVE BISWA TO THREE RUTTIES.

1 Diamond of	3 Rutties	. . . . . .	30 rupees.
1 ,,	2-15 Biswa	. . . . . .	28.8 ,,
1 ,,	2-10 ,,	. . . . . .	27 ,,
1 ,,	2 ,,	. . . . . .	26 ,,
1 ,,	1-10 ,,	. . . . . .	25 ,,
1 ,,	1- 5 ,,	. . . . . .	23 ,,
1 ,,	1 ,,	. . . . . .	21 ,,
1 ,,	15 ,,	. . . . . .	20 ,,
1 ,,	10 ,,	. . . . . .	19 ,,
1 ,,	5 ,,	. . . . . .	17 ,,
A quantity of sparks weighing	1 Ruttie	. . .	15 ,,
Mitta	1 ,,	. . .	8 ,,
Cuff	1 ,,	. . .	5 ,,

PRICES OF VARIOUS GOLD COINS.

Species.	Calcutta price. Sicca rupees at Taksal [Mint].		Value in England when standard gold at £3, 17s.		
Mahomed Shah Dilhee . .	13 9 a.	13 13	£1	9	7
Furickabad	12 14 a.	13 3	1	9	1
Patna Mahomed Shah . .	13 3 a.	13 4	1	9	4
Auring Shah	13 8 a.	13 9	1	9	2
Banaris 18 Sonne [sona] .	13 a.	13 1	1	9	5
Corah	13 2 a.	13 3	1	9	4
Venetians full weight[1] . .	4 13 a.	4 13.6	1	9	4

[1] Venetian sequins, evidence of the Eastern trade of Venice in far-off days, are probably still to be found in treasure hoards in India. Early in the twentieth century the writer of this note heard the late Mr Woodroffe, Advocate-General in Bengal, tell that a client, who was a landowner in Orissa, litigating in the Calcutta High Court, asked him if he had any objection to receive his fee in gold, rupees being short. On his agreeing to this, the client came the next morning with a shroff (or money weigher), and weighed out the stipulated fee in Venetian sequins.

Captain Macpherson writes to his cousin James Macpherson :—

"The Rev. Mr William Smith, having determined to return to England, I have sent by him, to be delivered to you, 2 bags, the first containing 1000 Pagodas and 218 Zukeens, or Venetians, the second containing 1100 Pagodas—in all, 2100 Pagodas and 218 Zukeens—which I hope will sell for about £1000 sterling. The Pagodas are better than those generally sent home from Madras—for example, the Madras Pagoda passes for 3 Rs. 8 annas, and the Hyderabad Pagodas, being those I have now sent, pass for Rs. 3. As. 14, and very often Rs. 4, as they are heavier and much better gold. As Mr Smith has so great a prospect of going home with Sir Edward Hughes in the *Salisbury*, Ship of War, I have not insured the above gold, so that you will conclude how anxious I shall be to hear of its safe arrival. Mr Smith is to go in the *Egmont*, Capt. Mears, from Bengal to Madras. If the *Salisbury* should not have left that place before his arrival, in which case Mr Smith continues on board the *Egmont* till they come up with the Commodore, which they expect to do for certain either at Trinkmalia or the Cape."

On 28th August 1777 he writes to his cousin James Macpherson : "You will have heard what has passed in Bengal after the arrival of the orders appointing Sir John Clavering Governor General. In a few words the General demanded the Chair ; Mr Hastings refused to resign it, and the Majority he has in Council enabled him to carry his point, particularly as it was referred to the Judges for their opinion, which they gave in favour of Mr Hastings having a right to keep the Chair till he chose to resign it. . . . It is a pity a period was not fixed for his Resignation instead of leaving room for such construction being put on the orders from Home."

On 30th August he writes in his note-book : "Sir John Clavering died between 2 and 3 this afternoon, and was Interred at about 8 at night. Minute Guns were fired. About 18 or 20 friends attended the Funeral."

In another letter to James Macpherson, dated from Calcutta, 13th September 1777, he tells of the death of Sir John Clavering. He writes : "I am persuaded that the perplexed state of his mind helped to kill Sir John as much as his disorder. It is terrible to send orders to so great a distance, which will bear contrary meaning to those interested. The loss of this good

man will be severely felt by the public and many individuals. Had he lived, my prospects were very flattering indeed. Now they are quite the reverse. However, thank God, my circumstances are such as to retire with an independency whenever I find it necessary."

It may be noted that Allan and John Macpherson, and some of their friends in the Military Service, appear (naturally as soldiers) to have taken the side of Sir John Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, in his quarrel with Warren Hastings. In 1785 Captain John Murray expresses satisfaction at the departure of Warren Hastings from India. Lieut.-Colonel John Macpherson's resentment of his treatment by Warren Hastings, when his health failed, is told later in these Memoirs. On the other hand, all the military officers who served on Hastings's staff—Captain (afterwards Colonel) Toone, Major John Scott (afterwards Scott Waring), Colonel L. Macleane, Colonel Goddard, and no doubt many others—were devoted to him. Colonel T. D. Pearse ("the father of the Bengal Artillery"), Hastings's second in his duel with Francis, firmly attached himself to the side of the Governor, and consequently (says some one) was treated with harshness by Clavering.

On 29th September 1777, Captain Macpherson writes in his note-book: "Received a letter from my cousin Mr James Macpherson by Mr Alexr. Elliot,[1] and a letter enclosed to recommend me to Mr Hastings. Mr Elliot has brought a Packet from Europe overland. My letter is dated 6th May 1777."

On 23rd November he notes: "Dined with Lady Clavering and the young Ladies";[2] on 4th December that "News has been received that Col. Ironside has killed Major Hossman in a duel"; on 11th December that "Mr Wheeler arrived, and took his seat at the Supreme Council."

His library at this time consists of: Dow's 'Hindostan,'

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[1] Hastings's Private Secretary. He died in 1778 in Orissa on his way to conduct negotiations for the Governor-General with the Nagpore Raja.

[2] Hickey speaks in his 'Memoirs' of Clavering's *three daughters*: "They were all remarkably fine young women, especially Caroline, the youngest, who was most bewitchingly attractive." Caroline married Sir John Warren. Maria Margaret married Lord Napier of Merchiston.

3 vols.; Hume's 'History,' 8 vols.; Robertson's 'History of Scotland,' 2 vols.; Marshall's 'Travels,' 3 vols.; Grose's 'Voyages,' 2 vols.; Lyttleton's 'Henry the 2nd,' 4 vols.; Robertson's 'Charles 5th,' 3 vols.; Homer's 'Iliad,' 2 vols., by Mr John (?); Otway's 'Art of War,' 2nd vol.; Voltaire's 'Works,' 35 vols.; Shenstone's 'Works,' 3 vols.; 'Henrietta,' 2 vols.; 'Select Trials,' 4 vols.; 'Fool of Quality,' 5 vols.; Plutarch's 'Lives,' 8 vols.; 'Gil Blas,' 3 vols.; Thomson's 'Works,' 2 vols.; 'Soldier's Journal,' 1 vol.; 'Amelia,' 4 vols.; odd volumes, 21; Bibles, 2; Bailie's Dictionaries, Technical, 1 vol. Books carried with me: Fenning's 'Geography,' 2 vols.; 'Encyclopædia,' 3 vols.; 'Essays,' 1 vol.; 'Rousseau on Different Subjects,' 2 vols.; Pliny's 'Letters,' 2 vols.; Pliny's 'Epistles,' 1 vol.; Captain Greenland's 'American Gazetteer,' 3 vols.; Stern's 'Journal,' 2 vols.

In January 1778, Captain Macpherson is allowed to exchange his command of the 15th Battalion for that of the 3rd Battalion stationed at Chunar. On 28th January he leaves Calcutta, and on 6th February he leaves Berhampore by "laid bearers" —*i.e.*, with palki-bearers—in relays, and takes command of his battalion at Chunargarh on 13th February. In March he was ordered to join the detachment under Colonel Leslie (afterwards under Colonel Goddard), sent by Hastings to march across India to the assistance of the Bombay Government.[1] He protested, however, against being sent on such service, on the ground that he had served on a Mission which had passed through the Maratha country on friendly safe-conduct—the very country about to be traversed—and that it would not be consistent with honour that he should now march with the Army through this country. The protest was considered valid, and the order for this service was cancelled.

Captain Macpherson remained at Chunargarh until December 1778, when his battalion was sent to Cawnpore, where it remained until the beginning of 1780. The few papers which Captain Macpherson has left for 1778 and 1779 include letters from friends which refer to General Goddard's campaign in the Bombay Presidency.

A letter addressed by Lieutenant John Murray, Secretary

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[1] See p. 368 of Marshman's 'History of India,' Vol. i.

to the Board of Ordnance in Calcutta, dated 22nd August 1779, to Brig.-General Stibbert directs that Colours of Sepoy Battalions must be made of "buntin" and not of silk. "I have the honour to acquaint you that the bills which accompanied your letter to Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, Commdr. in Chief, of the 30th June for Colours for the 36th, 37th, and 38th Battalions of Sepoys, having been submitted to the Board of Ordnance, are passed, but this is not to be understood as a precedent for allowing silk colours to Sepoy Battalions, it being only intended to allow them Colours made of Buntin, and it has been remarked that there was an impropriety in the Captain's furnishing silk Colours without having previously obtained the sanction of the Board."

Captain Macpherson makes several applications to the Governor-General for preferment. On the 16th March 1779, writing from Cawnpore, he reminds Mr Hastings of a promise given to him before he left Calcutta that he should be appointed to the first command of a Regiment of Cavalry that should become vacant, and he suggests that a command might be found for him in one of the following posts which he names :—

"(1) The Districts of the Vizier's Dominions to the Northward of the Goggera River and bordering on the Westerly frontiers of Ghourruckpore, and running under the hills to a considerable distance to the North-West of Lucknow towards Behraiche and Palibeet, are at present, I believe, protected by a body of Irregular Sepoys which incur a much greater expence than a body of Regular Troops that would keep the Rajahs and Zemindars in proper order, by which means the Inhabitants would be enabled without fear or apprehension to pursue their cultivation and trade. The principal Purgunnahs or districts in the above country are BITOUL, UTERONLA, and BULLERAMPORE, and yielding a very considerable Revenue when well protected. The Command of a body of Sepoys in these districts on the same plan with the Troops under Mr Osborne in the Dooab would make me very happy indeed.

"(2) The Country belonging to the Vizier between the Gumpty and Ganges from Bangermow and Lucknow to the borders of the Benares Districts is at present much in want of protection. . . .

"(3) BAGHA is a station within our own provinces for the

protection of which I imagine Government will raise a Battalion of Independent Sepoys. I should be very happy indeed in failure of the above plans to have the Command of it.

"(4) The Command and payment of Rajah Cheyte Sing's Cavalry. This Corps would be found very useful when properly clothed and regularly disciplined."

He is unsuccessful, however, in his requests, and he writes on 2nd September 1779 in disappointment to his friend, Lieutenant John Murray, in Calcutta, as follows:—

"I am determined on going home unless I am served, or unless the war is of such a nature as to make it inconsistent with my honour to leave the country." He requests him to take a passage for him "in a Dutch or Danish or Swedish Ship—preference to the Dutch, then the Danes—not to engage with a ship that goes to Batavia."

A letter of this time from his cousin, James Macpherson, M.P. (translator of 'Ossian'), encloses a copy of a letter from Warren Hastings which can only be read with compunction, or indignation, that it should have been necessary for the great Governor to send home to a supporter in the India House such a defence, dignified as it is, of his military patronage. Lord Rosebery has said of a letter written by Sir Robert Peel to Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister of the day, asking for his patronage for a brother and a brother-in-law, that the letter in the light of these days "reads oddly enough, but then it must be read in the light of those days"; and so may James Macpherson's efforts on behalf of his kinsmen be regarded. James Macpherson copies the letter with his own hand:

"Fort William, 14*th March* 1780.

"Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your favours of the 6th Septr. 1778, 20th Janry. and 8th Febry. 1779.

"The multiplicity of business in which I was engaged, previous to the departure of the Swallow Packet, prevented me from writing by her, either to you or my friend Mr John Macpherson, but I now beg leave to assure you, Sir, that I have a due sense of the many and great obligations you have conferred upon me, and the essential advantages I have received from your friendly offices to me, in every instance where misrepresentation of my public conduct might have been attended with the most fatal consequences.

"Mr Macpherson and many of my particular friends in England have informed me in all their letters how strenuous and indefatigable you have been in defence of my Cause. Feeling, as I do, the warmth of your Friendship, benefiting, as I have done, by its exertions, I cannot but be anxious to convince you that I have with great pleasure taken every opportunity of expressing my regard for you, by forwarding the views of your relations and connections in Bengal, and you may be assured that I will neglect no opportunity of serving them in future.

"You have mentioned four Gentlemen to me—Col. Dow, Capts. J. and A. Macpherson, and your nephew Mr M'Intyre.

"With respect to Col. Dow, although I did think he at one time took a more active part against me than I expected, yet I daresay he has done me the justice to inform you that since the receipt of your recommendation I expressed the utmost desire to serve him, that we conversed confidentially, and that I cordially united with Sir Eyre Coote in fixing him in one of the most advantageous Commands in India. Unfortunately, when poor Col. Dow had obtained what he wished, he died on his way to Patna,[1] much regretted by myself and by every one who knew him.

"I have made the allowance of Mr M'Intyre as Assistant Secretary to the Board of Ordnance equal to those of a Lieut. Col. in the Army, and I have assured him that he shall succeed to the post of Secretary when it is vacant, and I shall use every means in my power to make it so on his account. He seems perfectly satisfied of my regard for him, and cannot propose anything within my power that I will not do to serve him.

"Capts. A. and J. Macpherson were in Command of Battalions of Seapoys, the most distinguished and honourable stations that officers of their rank can fill, when I had the pleasure of receiving your first letter. I have not myself heard from Capt. John Macpherson, but I am informed that on account of his Constitution, which has been much injured by long Service, he wished to be appointed to some fixed Station. You may be assured I will take the earliest opportunity of gratifying his wishes.

"Capt. A. Macpherson has made several applications to

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[1] Colonel Alexander Dow died at Bhagulpore in 1779.

me, and I believe he has thought me not so desirous of serving him as I really am. Whenever I could, I have, I assure you, complyed with his wishes. There are certain rules in this Service which I cannot break through, and in the distribution of Commands it has been my constant study to do justice to every Officer in the Army. I have frequently, indeed, in points out of the line of the Service, to promote the views of Gentlemen whose faces I hardly know. I could not explain my motives here; but you, Sir, must know very well that I must in many instances give up my own wishes to accommodate myself to those who co-operate with me in Administration.

"Capt. A. Macpherson was appointed to the Command of a Battalion while he was at Poona with Col. Upton. On his return to Calcutta his Battalion was here upon duty, which is by no means an eligible Situation. Just at this period another Battalion station at Chunar, where his friend Col. Upton was to command, became vacant. He applied for an Exchange, and I made it, although to the injury of the Officer who would in course have succeeded to it, and I promised, if I had an opportunity, to serve Capt. Macpherson still more essentially.

"On the Declaration of the War it was judged absolutely necessary that all the Old Corps should take the Field and the new raised ones remain in Garrison. By this Resolution of Government Capt. Macpherson lost his Command, but continued encamped out of the Provinces. I could not give him any of the appointments he asked from that period to the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, because I wanted the power, and since the General's arrival he has had the entire command of the Army. But I hope, as Capt. Macpherson is now upon the spot, I shall soon be able to place him agreeably to his wishes.

"I flatter myself that this explanation will convince you how earnestly desirous I am of attending to your recommendation. I lament every obstacle which has at times prevented me from complying with their requests, and I hope and believe I shall very soon provide for them to their own satisfaction and yours.

"I shall at all times be extremely happy to have the pleasure of hearing from you and of receiving your Commands.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, Sir, your much obliged and most Obedt. Humble servant,

(signed) WARREN HASTINGS."

At the beginning of 1780 the 3rd Battalion is transferred to the Presidency, and on 13th March Captain Macpherson writes from Calcutta to his cousin James Macpherson that he has permission to come in advance of his battalion to see Mr Hastings, who has given an assurance to him with regard to an appointment, and he has therefore resolved to wait for another year. Later in the year he decides to accept the command of the 1st Battalion of Sepoys at Jalasore in the Midnapore District, where he arrives in August.

CHAPTER XV.

IN COMMAND OF 1ST BATTALION OF SEPOYS IN MIDNAPORE DISTRICT, 1780-81.

The military position in India at the end of 1780. Major Macpherson goes in command of the 1st Battalion of Sepoys to Jalasore, "a nasty, low, wet situation." Hastings' duel with Francis mentioned. Colonel W. D. Pearse's force passes through Midnapore district on the way to Madras. Anxiety as to the behaviour of the Marathas in Cuttack. Autograph letter from Mr Hastings on the subject. Detachment on the Subarnrekha River has fighting with the troops of the Raja of Morbhanj. Major Macpherson is appointed Quartermaster-General.

[COLONEL ALLAN MACPHERSON has left many letters, "public and private," as he has filed them, of the period from August 1780 to November 1781, which he spent in the Midnapore District. Of these it is only possible here to extract a few. The military position in India at this time may first be briefly explained. On 10th September 1780 Hyder Ali of Mysore annihilated a detachment of about 600 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys under Colonel Baillie near Conjeveram in the Carnatic; and at the end of October Sir Eyre Coote, Commander-in-Chief, sailed from Calcutta, taking all the troops immediately available for relief of the Madras Presidency. Hastings further despatched a force by land under Colonel W. D. Pearse, to march by Midnapore and Cuttack to Madras. Pearse's force consisted of five battalions of Bengal infantry, with a company of European artillery and twelve guns. This force left Midnapore on the 9th of January 1781. There had been anxiety as to the attitude of the Marathas, who held the province of Cuttack under Chimnajee, second son of Mudajee Bhonslay, the Raja of Nagpur; but Hastings' skilful negotiations, conducted at Cuttack in 1778 to 1780

by Mr David Anderson, had detached the Nagpur Marathas from the Maratha Confederacy, and actually turned them against Hyder Ali and the Peshwa at a time when, says Duff, "they might have pillaged Bengal from Burdwan to Point Palmyras." Pearse's force, in fact, made their long march of nearly 1000 miles without any molestation; but they suffered severely from an epidemic of cholera, perhaps the first reported in India. They arrived at Ellore in May, and were met by Sir Eyre Coote at Pulicat on 2nd of August. (A memoir of Colonel Pearse's life, under the title of "An Anglo-Indian Worthy," was published in 'Blackwood's Magazine' in May 1909.) During this march Major Samuel Kilpatrick, who was in command of the 24th Battalion, writes to Captain Macpherson telling him of the outbreak of sickness at Ganjam, and the dissensions among the officers and the meeting with Sir Eyre Coote. Major Kilpatrick was shortly afterwards mortally wounded by Captain Scott in a duel.

On his way to take up his command at Jalasore in Midnapore District, Captain Macpherson writes in August 1780 to his cousin James from Budge-Budge, fourteen miles below Calcutta, telling much of his personal disappointments. He has resolved to go home as soon as he is a major, and he is now the sixth captain in the Army, and must be promoted in the course of a year. He tells of the duel between Francis and Hastings:—

"In consequence of some altercation at Council, and minute entered in the Consultations, Mr Hastings against Mr Francis, a duel was fought ten days ago, in which Mr F. was wounded with a ball which entered at the short ribs of the right side and was out at the left. Fortunately, one of the ribs gave it a turn, by which means it went over the back-bone. Mr F. is recovering surprisingly, and already able to walk about the room. Three days ago we had the agreeable news of Captain Popham's detachment having taken by escalade the famous fort of Gwalior, so much spoken of by our late worthy friend, Col. Dow, in his 'History.' It stands upon a very high and steep rock, so strong by nature and some art that the natives laughed at the idea of our investing it. I think it is probable it will have considerable influence in bringing the Mahrattas to terms of peace.

"I had determined upon going home this season, but have now laid it aside, as my Battalion is going upon service, to guard the Pass of Jallisore on the great road from Cuttack to Orissa and Bengal. You will see it in Rennell's map, about 25 causs below [? Midnapore]. There is now an Army of between 20,000 and 30,000 Mahrattas assembled at Cuttack threatening the plunder of our districts—they had better add, if they are able, which will hardly be the case. I think they must act with more spirit than they have hitherto shown before we give way. I am upon my march towards the above Pass, and I hope to give a good account of them if they attempt to force the Pass. I would not wish you to suppose that this command was given me as an act of favour. No such thing, I do assure you. It is no more than my just tour, and nothing but the prospect of actual service has induced me to accept of it. It is a nasty, low, wet situation." [1]

In a letter dated 6th October 1780 from camp near Jallasore, to the same, he repeats that he is fully determined upon leaving the country next year. "Nothing prevents my going this season but being upon service. I am now the 3rd Captain in the Army, and hope soon to be a Major." On the 17th November, writing from the same place to the same, he adheres to his intention of going home, and says he is now the oldest captain in the army.

He was appointed to be a major with effect from 1st of January 1781. His commission is signed by Warren Hastings and Edward Wheler.

Soon after arriving at Jalasore, Captain Macpherson receives a letter from Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, dated 30th September 1780, approving his selection of a site for encamping on the Subarnrekha River, and asking for any information which he can get of the roads about the Maratha country. In October and November he receives letters from General Stibbert, who has succeeded to the command of the forces in Bengal on Sir Eyre Coote's departure for Madras. General Stibbert expresses great anxiety about the situation

[1] Captain Macpherson takes with him a "Description of the Country from Narangur to the Mouth of the Soobanreka and from thence along the Banks to the Village of Naringa," written by Mr Andrew Pringle, Surveyor, in October and November 1777.

in Madras, and he disapproves of the sending of troops by land to Madras to the weakening of Bengal, and disapproves the selection of Colonel Pearse, an artillery officer, to command this detachment, in supersession of the claims of infantry officers.

On 22nd of December 1780, Captain Macpherson receives at "Camp Jellasore" an autograph letter from Mr Hastings, which may be quoted in full, as showing how carefully the Governor watched his borders and kept in close touch with distant officers.

"FORT WILLIAM, 17*th December* 1780.

"SIR,—I have received intelligence that the Mahratta forces at Cuttack moved from their different Encampments and assembled on the road to Bengal on the 10th instant. Their present direction is to Dokka Nuhla and Mourbhanj, and I believe that they have no actual Design to pass over Borders. Yet, as it is possible, I advise you to be upon your Guard and prepared to receive them. At the same time I recommend that you make as little Shew as possible of Suspicion, and keep this letter secret for fear of giving Alarm.—I am, Sir, Your Most obedt. Servt.,

WARREN HASTINGS."

Captain Macpherson received this letter at 11 A.M. on 22nd December, and answers it at 1 P.M. on the same day.

"SIR,—I this moment had the honour to receive your letter of the 17th Instant, and permit me to assure you that your injunctions therein will be strictly attended to. I have the newspaper in general daily, and for a certainty every other day, from Chimnajee's Camp. By accounts I received yesterday, he encamped on the 19th about nine Causs on this side the Maha Nuddee after a march of two Causs. The common talk in his camp is that he will march in a very few days to Bengal by the Ballisore Road. This report may be spread purposely to quiet his people with the Prospect of Plunder in lieu of their pay, for which some of his principal [a word torn away] were lately rather troublesome to him. Whatever their real intentions may be, I will not fail to be attentive to their motions in the manner you are pleased to recom-

mend. It is said that Chimnajee has orders from Nagpore to march to Bengal without loss of time."

In February 1781, Major Macpherson receives a letter from Brigade-Major Williamson, who is in camp at Ballasore, informing him, under the directions of Colonel Pearse, that the Raja Chimnajee "is in full march towards us, and within 4 coss. We are all ready to receive him, let him be friend or foe. As it is probable he may take the route close under the Nilgherry Hills and endeavour to get into the Company's Provinces, the Colonel thinks it necessary to advise you of it that you may be upon your guard against him."

In July 1781, Major Macpherson receives a report from Lieutenant Robert MacGregor, in command of a detachment of his battalion, telling of a skirmish at Armirdagher, in which he had routed a force of the Raja of Morbhanj, who had entered the Company's territory claiming Pergunna Belorichour.

On 1st July he receives a letter addressed to Major John Macpherson, commanding officer at Midnapore (clearly intended for Major Allan Macpherson), from the Governor-General in Council, signed by Warren Hastings and Edward Wheler, directing him to comply with any requisitions made to him for military assistance by the Collector of Midnapore as to sequestration of the pergunnas belonging to the Raja of Morbhanj on both sides of the Subarnrekha "which lie within and appertain to our Provinces." There is further fighting, and the Morbhanj troops are reinforced by horse and foot from Cuttack.

A letter from Lieutenant Peter Murray, dated 30th July 1781, directs that it be signified to Lieutenant MacGregor that the general is very favourably impressed with his activity and good conduct.

Captain Fenwick, who was sent by Major Macpherson to take command of the detachment on the Subarnrekha, writes on 1st of August: "I must acquaint you that it is impossible for the Company ever to keep possession of this Pergunna without the ryots of Jallasore and Patna is positively ordered to attend the detachment with provisions. Nyan Ghose, who is the intended Tehsildar for this pergunna, is one of the stupidest men that ever I beheld. There is not one of the ryots will pay the least attention to what he says to them.

The ryots look upon him as a most Insignificant Fellow. I have this day received two letters from the Mohrbunge Raja, who pleads Ignorance to every one of his Actions. He lays all the blame upon the Mahrattas. I understand that he has got 1000 of the Mahrattas with him. I do not believe a single word of what he writes to me."

It appears that the Raja of Morbhanj claimed to hold Pargana Belourichour from Chimnaji Raja, and affirmed that this grant was confirmed in the late treaty between the Governor and Chimnaji. Captain Fenwick expresses his apprehension of the Company being involved in troubles with the Cuttack Mahrattas. He tells of the difficulty of campaigning in the rains in the jungle, and of want of provisions.

On 31st August, Mr Peiarce, Chief of Midnapore, writes: "As the principal object of the force sent against the Raja of Mohrbunge is accomplished, his people driven out and the ryots resettling, I do not see any further occasion for Captain Fenwick with so large party being any longer in that station. It is my opinion, therefore, that he may be recalled, leaving such a party on the spot as may be necessary only for the immediate protection of the ryots."

Captain William Scott, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, writes on 1st September 1781 that General Stibbert is concerned at the amount of sickness in Captain Fenwick's detachment, and on 7th September 1781, he informs Major Macpherson that the Commander-in-Chief leaves entirely to him "the determination of this detachment."

On 19th September 1781, General Stibbert acknowledges Major Macpherson's letter of 18th inst., which had enclosed copy of a letter from Ganjam containing an account of General Coote's "second engagement with Hyder Ali" (apparently Pollilore, fought on 27th of August 1781). He writes: "The advantage which he [General Coote] has gained over the enemy gives me infinite satisfaction, as the very existence of the Company in India, in my opinion, depends on the success of this Army. As the General purposed attacking Hyder Ali next day, I hope we shall soon hear that something more decisive has been effected, and that he has opened his way to Arcott. With respect to the Nagpur Raja, I am inclined to suspect that we shall have another visit from

his troops in December, and shall therefore make all preparations necessary to oppose him."

Meanwhile Major Allan Macpherson had been in bad health, and had made up his mind to ask for permission to go to Europe. In August he writes from Midnapore to his agent, Mr Robert Reid, at Chinsura, asking him to take passages for himself and his brother John, who was also ill. On 20th September he writes from Midnapore to the Council for permission to resign his command of the 1st Regiment of Sepoys, in order that he may go to the Presidency and prepare for a voyage to Europe for the establishment of his health. General Stibbert forwards this application to the Council with his recommendation, and writes to Major Macpherson his regrets that he is losing "so able an officer."

Major Macpherson then goes to Calcutta to make his preparations for departure, but a change now comes in his plans. In the house of his friend, Lieutenant John Murray, Secretary to the Board of Ordnance, he meets Miss Eliza Dell Fraser. He at once falls in love with her, and follows her to Cossim Bazar, as told in Chapter I. of these memoirs, where he becomes engaged to her. In the meantime he has been appointed Quartermaster-General in succession to Colonel Morgan, who is sent to command a detachment for Bombay. An undated letter from Mr John Macpherson, Member of Council, is as follows: "My dear Allan, The News is good from every quarter; and you are Quarter Master General." These developments put an end to Major Macpherson's intention to retire—an intention probably formed in disappointment and strengthened in the trying hot weather and rains of Midnapore. He takes up his duties as Quartermaster-General in December 1781, is appointed a Lieut.-Colonel, and marries on 4th January 1782.

CHAPTER XVI.

AT CALCUTTA AND BARRACKPORE.

JANUARY 1782 TO 1787.

Colonel Macpherson is Quartermaster-General, 1781 to 1787, and from January 1785 to September 1786 Private Secretary and Persian Interpreter to the Governor-General. Distribution of the Bengal Army in 1784. Barrackpore Cantonments. Business in Governor-General's Darbars. Correspondence with Princes, Residents, and Zamindars. Letters of John Macpherson to Nawab Vizier. Zoffany, Smith, and Homphrey, painters, mentioned. Mess expenses of a subaltern in 1786. Discount levied by Benares bankers. *Colonel Macpherson's kinsmen and* friends in India. His letter to "Young James" Macpherson on beginning work as a Political Assistant. John M'Intyre, afterwards General M'Intyre. The four soldier brothers Murray (afterwards M'Gregor). An evening dress of Mrs Hastings described. The Sair Mutakherin. Colonel Macpherson's Persian and Arabic MSS. (as catalogued by Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I.). Return to Europe in the *Berrington*. The Council's statement of his services. His preparations for the voyage. Cost of passages, stores, wines, &c., taken on board. Sails from Calcutta, 29th January; arrives Southampton, August 1787.

[IN Chapter I. of this book a brief mention has been made of the last five years of Lieut.-Colonel Allan Macpherson's Indian service. For this period, except for a few months during which the appointment was in abeyance, Colonel Macpherson held the post of Quartermaster-General in Bengal —for the first three years under Warren Hastings, for the next twenty months under John Macpherson, who acted as Governor-General until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in September 1786, and then till January 1787 under Lord Cornwallis. Colonel Macpherson was also Private Secretary and Persian Interpreter to John Macpherson; his knowledge of Oudh and the Rohilla country and of Maratha affairs, and

his ability to read and write Persian and Hindustani, were qualifications for these posts.

The principal events in India of this period were the Treaty of Salbye with the Marathas in 1782; the war with the French and Hyder Ali in the south; the death of Hyder Ali at the end of 1782 and succession of his son Tippoo; the peace with France in 1783 and with Tippoo in 1784. During the last years of Colonel Macpherson's service, Sindhia dominated the Court of Delhi; the Shahzada Jiwan Bakht was living at Lucknow, and Sindhia's vakil was trying to induce him to return to Delhi.

Colonel Macpherson notes that the distribution of the Bengal Army in 1784 was as follows:—

At the Presidency[1]—1 Regiment of European Infantry, 1 Company European Invalids, 6 Companies European Artillery, 1 Company European Artillery Invalids at Fort William and Budge-Budge, 6 Battalions Lascars, 5 Regiments Sepoys.
Berhampore—1 Regiment European Infantry, 1 Company European Artillery, 1 Battalion Lascars, 2 Regiments Sepoys.
Moorshedabad—1 Division Native Infantry Invalids.
Chandarnagore—1 Battalion Sepoys.
Jallasore—1 Battalion Sepoys.
Midnapore—1 Regiment Sepoys.
Dinagepore—1 Regiment Sepoys.
Dacca—1 Regiment Sepoys.
Chittagong—Chittagong Regiment.
Monghyr—1 Battalion Sepoys and 1 Native Infantry Invalids.
Ramgarh—Light Infantry Regiment at Jilda.
Dinapore—1 Company European Artillery, 1 Regiment Sepoys.
Patna—1 Native Infantry Invalids.
Burragong [Sarun]—1 Regiment Sepoys.
Buxar—1 Company European Infantry Invalids, 1 Division Native Infantry Invalids.
Chunar and the Benares District—1 Company European Invalids, 1 Company Golandaz, 5 Regiments Sepoys, 1 Division Native Infantry Invalids.

[1] Included Fort William, Barrackpore, and Dum-Dum.

Cawnpore—1 Regiment European Infantry, 1 Company European Rangers, 1 Company European Artillery, 1 Company Golandaz, 5 Regiments Sepoys.
Lucknow—1 Regiment Sepoys.
Fattyghur—1 Company European Artillery, 5 Regiments Sepoys, 2 Rassalas Native Cavalry.

There was no war in Upper India during Colonel Macpherson's tenure of the Quartermaster-Generalship, and his duties in that office were chiefly connected with the cantonment buildings of Barrackpore and Berhampore and of Chunar Fort, especially the rebuilding of the Barrackpore cantonment, and with boat transport.

In orders dated 17th September 1782, the Governor-General authorises the rebuilding of the cantonment at Barrackpore, and approves plans and estimates for accommodating five battalions of Sepoys (apparently an increase of the accommodation, which had been previously for four battalions). Colonel Macpherson describes difficulties, familiar to the Land Acquisition Officer in recent times, in acquiring possession, from the resident Brahmins and others, of the land required for his buildings. In his memorandum, written in January 1787, when he was making over charge of the office of Q.M.G. to Major J. Cockerell, Colonel Macpherson mentions that he "was the first to put bricks on the road between Barrackpore and Calcutta, and by that means made the road from Calcutta good in the rains." This road was one of his special cares. When about to leave India, he presents to the Paymaster what appears to be a moderate bill for keeping the road (twelve miles) in repair "from 1st June 1786 to 31st January 1787, being 8 months at Rs. 5000 per annum Sicca Rupees 3333.5.4, and to keeping in repair the banks of the river and roads within the Cantonments for 8 months as above at 1000 Sicca rupees per annum 666.10.8. Total Sicca rupee 4000." Writing to his cousin James in September 1783, he tells of his disappointment and losses in regard to the building of the barracks; and in February 1784 tells him of an interview with Warren Hastings, and how he informed the Governor that the office of Q.M.G. "was only handsome in appearance, without anything whatever except the pay and fixed allowance of the office, which just enables me to live and no more."

As Private Secretary to Mr John Macpherson, Colonel Macpherson conducted important correspondence both in his own name and for the Governor-General, and arranged the Darbars and important interviews. He writes to his cousin James on 5th February 1783 that the Governor-General has given him charge of the country business "immediately about himself"; and on 7th March he writes to Major William Palmer, Resident at Lucknow: "The Governor-General has done me the honour of placing me in the confidential situation which David Scott held under Mr Hastings. Correspondence with Vakeels of the country powers is through my interpretation, and he (the Governor-General) deals with letters which are not to be laid before the Council. Letters which go before the Council are made over to the Council's Interpreter (Mr Colebrooke)."

In a letter dated 23rd October 1786, he writes to R. Pott, Esq., Resident at Murshedabad: "It is a rule which the Governor-General laid down upon his first coming to the Chair to have a public Durbar on every Wednesday to hear all the representations which the natives might wish to make, and to receive all petitions presented to him."

Notes of an interview in May 1786 of the Governor-General with Fazl Ali Khan Bahadur, Envoy of Shah Alam, at which Colonel Macpherson was interpreter, are among his papers.

A silver seal and an emerald engraved with inscriptions in Persian were probably sent to Colonel Allan Macpherson by Shah Alam at this time. (See impression of silver seal on opposite page.)

In the note below he records the compliments paid in Durbar and interview to the representatives of various powers and grandees :—

"Vakeels and the manner of their reception in the time of Mr Hastings and Mr Macpherson.

"Vizier's Vakeel [*i.e.*, the Vakeel of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh], Rajah Gobind Ram—Embraced, otter, beetle,[1] and chair.

[1] The leaf of the pepper plant, or *pán*, chewed with the areca nut.

Transliteration (*by the late Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I.*)—
Ikrâmud-daulah nâsirul-mulk
Colonel Allan Macpherson bahâdur
Isfandiyâr jang fidwî-i bâdshâh-i ghâzî-
basanah 28 Shâh Âlam 1200. [A. H.]

Translation—Dignitary of State, helper of the country, the honourable Colonel Allan Macpherson, Isfandiyar in war, servant of the conquering king, Shah Alam, in the 28th year (of his reign), 1200. [A. H.]

Note that the seal must be read from the bottom upwards, the object of the scribe being that the king's name should appear at the top.

Isfandiyar was the son of Gushtasp of the 1st dynasty of Persian kings, a renowned warrior and hero.

"Saadit Ally Khawn [? 's Vakeel] Nawob Ashriffuldoulit, a man whose ancestors have for some generations been in high rank in the Empire, and is here more as the friend of Saadit Ally than his Vakeel—Embraced, otter, beetle, and chair.

"Nawob Ally Ebrahim Khawn [Judge of the Adalat at Benares ?]—Ally Nucky Khawn is not entitled to high attention merely as a Vakeel, but his Father and Grandfather were Subedars of Lahore. He has on that account been treated as above.

"Peshwa's [Vakeel] Sewuck Ram—Chair, otter, and beetle.

"Moodhajee's [Nagpore Bhonsle] Bishimber Pundit—Chair, otter, and beetle.

"Scindia's [Vakeel] Bhugwunt Row—Chair, otter, and beetle.

"Muziffer Jungh's [Vakeel] [Farrakhabad] Hickmut Eab Khawn—Otter and beetle.

"Rajah Mohibat Narain's Vakeel [Benares], Atterally Khawn —Otter and beetle.

"Munny Bigam's Vakeel [she was widow of Nawab Jaffir Ali Khan of Murshidabad], Nassir Mahomed Khawn—Otter and beetle.

"Mirza Junglie's Vakeel, Buder ul deen Ally Khawn—Otter and beetle.

"Rajah of Jaipore's Vakeel, Rai Ball Kishun—Otter and beetle.

"Cashmeery Mull's Gomashteh, Peera Mull [Cashmeery Mull was a banker in Lucknow]—Otter and beetle.

"Bech Raja's Gomashteh, Samboonaut—Otter and beetle.

Another note shows monthly salaries paid to Vakeels (apparently by the Company) :—

"List of Vakeels.

		Per month.
"Bissumber Pundit Moodajee Booslah's Vakeel .	Sa Rs.	500
Bulwant Row as Scindia's Vakeel	,,	250
Madjunah Gossam of Assam	,,	150
Sunker Row, the Vakeel of Rajah Sevajee Row and Gungah Dhur Govind	,,	150
Shevickram, the Peshwa's Vakeel	,,	300
Nollah Atmaram, Vakeel of the Ranah of Gohud	,,	100

		Per month.
Benyram Pundit, Vakeel of Moodajee Booslah .	Sa Rs.	100
Ally Lucky Cawn, Vakeel of Ally Ibrahim Cawn .	„	100
Durney Apadia, Vakeel of Malabomb Rajah Keertybomb	„	50
Fyzoolah Cawn's Vakeel	„	50"

Colonel Macpherson's papers of this period include several volumes and files of English letters and translations or abstracts of letters and representations in Persian to and from ruling Powers and Princes, Zemindars, and others, including letters from the Shahzada, Jewan Bakht, eldest son of the Emperor Shah Alam, the Peshwa's Vakeels, the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Rajas of Nepal, Bandelkhand, and Assam (asking for intervention in disputes—a 'Short History of Nepal' and a rough map of Assam are among the papers); from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, from Nawab Faizullah Khan, Rohilla, from Muzaffar Jang Nawab of Furruckabad and others; also files of letters to and from Major William Palmer, Resident at Lucknow, and his successor, Colonel Gabriel Harper; Mr James Grant, Resident at Benares; Mr Robert Pott, Resident at Murshedabad (chiefly about the payment of the Nizamat—*i.e.*, the Nawab's allowance of sixteen lakhs a year, and the discontent caused by payment in paper certificates,—family disputes, &c.); Mr John Kinloch, Chief of Council at Burdwan. There are also petitions and representations from Zamindars (Dinagepore, Birbhum, and others) about successions, allowances, pensions, Khilats, petitions of raiyats in Purneah (against the "renter," Moti Lal), &c. On many of these papers the Governor-General has noted or drafted with his own hand, and some of the papers are referred to Mr Colebrooke, the translator to the Council, to the Board, Committee of Revenue, or to the local Residents or chiefs.

There is a file of unofficial letters, which Colonel Macpherson received from the Governor-General. In one of them the Governor-General refers to James Macpherson and his "d——d Carnatic connections."[1] It is only possible here to extract a few of those letters as recorded in Colonel Macpherson's books of Persian correspondence.

[1] James Macpherson succeeded John Macpherson in the "Carnatic connections"?

Translation of a Letter from the Governor-General to the Nawab [Wazir of Oudh].

"1st Feb. 1786.

"I have been honoured by Your Excellency's letter, and fully comprehend the whole of it. The firm friendship between the Company and your Excellency is well known all over the World, and it is the wish of the King of England, the Company, and this Government to preserve that friendship with honour and dignity to your Excellency to the last.

"Your Excellency observes that you are subjected to a heavy expense by the continuance of the Futty Ghurr Detachment, contrary to the engagements made by the late Governor-General, Mr Hastings, when at Chunar. When Mr Hastings made that agreement he might not have seen the necessity of keeping so large a force on the Frontiers. It is a maxim with wise Princes to be attentive to the motions of their Neighbours, and to keep up a Force in proportion to the Army on their Borders—it is by such care that Princes become respectable, and preserve their own dominions in peace and greatness, which will always produce ease and plenty to the Natives.

"At this very time there is a large Army within a few Coss of your Excellency's Dominions, the Sikhs are plundering all the country round Delhi, and in the vicinity of Daranagur Timur Shah is expected. Tippoo, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas are in the field with large Armies, and altho' we are at peace with all, it is wise and necessary to be always ready for our own defence and able to revenge an insult should any be offered. It is by such means that the greatest Kings of the Earth preserve their own power and peace and plenty to their subjects. Suppose we were to leave Futty Ghur and other Frontiers without troops, the Sikhs and other plundering Tribes enter some of your districts of Rohilkund and Furrackabad, they would do more real mischief in one or two months than the expense of the Futty Gur Detachment for two years; and other Princes more powerful than the Sikhs, seeing us off our guard and without Troops on our Frontiers, might at a proper opportunity take possession of some of our strongholds, which it might be difficult to remove them from.

"From your Excellency's great wisdom and knowledge, I am persuaded that what I have said will convince you of the propriety of continuing the Futty Gur Detachment at this time.

"The recall of all the European Gentlemen that were a heavy burden to your Excellency at Lucknow, the reduction of Col. Hannay's and Captain Frith's Corps, and every other part of my conduct must have fully satisfied your Excellency that I had no object in view except the prosperity of your Dominions and the Company. The reduction of the above Corps, and the removal of many European Gentlemen, was the cause of saving many lacks [lakhs] to your Excellency.

"The reason for the increase of the subsidy which your Excellency complains of is easily accounted for. Your Excellency should take a view of the very heavy expense which the Company has been burdened with by the War at Bombay, Madras, and from the Frontiers of your Excellency's Dominions to Eujiene [Ujain]; and I am sure that you will see the propriety of contributing a small share for paying off the enormous debt in which the Company was involved to carry on the above wars, which by the blessing of God have been honourably concluded and peace and quietness restored to all parts of India connected with the Company. Many thousands have lost their lives in these wars, and the Nawab of Arcot's Dominions and the Company's Districts plundered and laid waste in the Carnatic and round Bombay; and your Excellency's frontiers all that time [have been] in peace and prosperity. Had all these circumstances occurred to your Excellency's generous mind, I am persuaded you would have offered more than the small increase of the subsidy in place of complaining of it as a hardship."

The Governor-General writes in more severe language on the same date to Hyder Beg Khawn, Vizier of the Nawab Vizier, telling him that he will be held answerable if he allows bad advice to be given to the Nawab.

On 22nd March 1786 the Governor-General writes to the Nawab Vizier:—

"I understand from Col. Harper's letters, and the information given me by Rajah Gobindram, that by the falling of your riding elephant your Excellency's life was in great danger, but that by the blessing of God, and your own good

fortune, courage, and bravery, your Subjects and I, your sincere friend, were made happy and joyful by your fortunate escape without hurt, and I most heartily congratulate you on this joyful occasion, and earnestly hope that the Almighty will always preserve you under his particular protection. When God shows his kindness in a distinguished manner to a particular friend, our acknowledgement thereof should be discovered by some charitable deed. Permit me, therefore, to entreat your acceptance of the accompanying 1001 Rupees to be distributed to the poor and needy that they may join in the general joy."

On 19th January 1786 the Governor-General writes to the Nawab Wazir that he is sending Mr Macaulay and Mr Masseyck to his country to teach the natives an improved mode of manufacturing indigo.

He writes on 22nd January 1786 to the Nawab Wazir :—

"Mr Hastings carried Mr Zophany to your Excellency's Court, and the pictures he drew were shewn here and gave me real satisfaction. Mr Zophany is deserving of favour, and is a celebrated artist. Some time since I wrote to your Excellency by Mr Smith, who is a painter of eminence and friend of mine. Perhaps he has not as yet arrived at Lucknow. Mr Zofphany and Mr Smith are artists in different styles. I hope your Excellency will show them attention and favour. There is another style of painting, that of drawing perfect likeness in small pictures, which is most agreeable, because the hand of friendship can always carry them as a remembrance. The most eminent gentleman in England in this line of painting is Mr Homphrey, whom I have deputed to the Presence to bring me pictures of your Excellency, of the Shah Zudda, and of your son and your Ministers. He will shew your Excellency a picture of me, and it is a true resemblance. Till I have the pleasure of a personal interview with your Excellency, make me happy by sending me your picture, and by your attention and Favour to Mr Homphrey, who has drawn pictures of some of the Kings of Europe, and who has met with favour from the King of England. It is worthy of Princes to favour men who are eminent in the fine Arts. What can I say more."

Letters in similar terms recommending these artists were

written to Nawab Hussein Raja Khawn and Nawab Hyder Beg Khawn.

On 23rd March 1786, Colonel Gabriel Harper (writing to Colonel Macpherson about the difficulties of paying the troops), says: "I know not what to do about Mr Humphrey and Mr Smith, the painters. If the Nabob should sit to be painted, the Lord knows when they will reap the advantage of their labours. If I was to wish my greatest enemy the most perplexing situation, I should for the present make him Governor-General's Agent at the courts of the Shahzada and Vizier."

Colonel Macpherson notes in 1786: "The Peshwa's Vakeel requests that the following articles may be sent as a present to the Peshwa, and states that they will be very acceptable—two young elephants, 5 Tanian [1] horses, a pair of rhinoceroses, 4 pictures." Mr Macaulay is directed "to provde these if possible." It appears later that the elephants wanted were got from Chittagong. The Tanian horses were also got.

The following letter addressed to Thomas Law, Esquire, at Gaya, indicates some impatience:—

"CALCUTTA, *30th March* 1786.

"MY DEAR LAW,—Sewajee Butla's [2] brother, Kandar Row, had long since an order of exemption for 400 persons to Gya. They have repeatedly declared that they have not had half the indulgence allowed them, and therefore the money taken from them may be returned, or Ram Roy Sewajee Butla's son in law with 200 persons more be permitted to perform their worship at Gya on the former order of exemption. It is impossible to explain to you, my friend, how Siwajee Butla's Vakeel plagues me on this subject. I am persuaded you have done what was right. For God's sake convince them of it, and oblige,—Yours sincerely,

ALLAN MACPHERSON."

Colonel Macpherson writes on 22nd May 1786 to Mr R. Pott, Resident at Murshidabad, enclosing a letter from the

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[1] Tanian or Tanjan is a Tibetan word for a pony (Hobson Jobson). The "Tanian horses" were probably strong Bhutiya ponies.

[2] Elsewhere the name is written "Swajee Beetle," and he is described as "a Chief of High Rank with Sindia."

Governor-General for the Nawab, also a "Shookah [1] from His Royal Highness the Shahzada to His Excellency" [the Nawab of Murshedabad] as follows : "The Governor General's letter to the Nabob will shew that he does not wish to interfere respecting the offices, etc., applied for by the Prince's dependents. The Nabob is the best judge relative to these little offices immediately about himself."

His copy-book contains many letters addressed to James Grant, Resident at Benares, asking him to show favour to Chimpat Roy, whom he has known as "Ameer of Benares" for sixteen or seventeen years; in favour of Nooral Deen Khawn, "son of my poor old Munshy [Ghulam Ali], who served me most faithfully above 14 years"; in favour of Shibab Khan, "a very old acquaintance of mine from his having been Foujdar of Juanpore when I was with Col. Champion and often marching up and down by Juanpore"; in favour of Arut Ram Tewary, Gomasthta in the house of Uranjee Naut, one of the first bankers in India, "who supplied Captain Upton and Myself with money and credit wherever we went on our journey to and from Poona"; in favour of Momtaj Husein, the nephew of a man recommended by the Nizam to the Governor-General, "I have no request to make in his favour except that you will honour him with a Beetle [betel leaf]."

To John Kinloch, Chief at Burdwan, he writes in favour of "Moulvi Kutubuddeen, who has been recommended by the King, Shah Alam, to the Governor General, and he got the poor old man appointed Darogha of the Foujdary Adaulat of Burdwan"; to John Kinloch, Burdwan, and also to James Grant at Benares in favour of Colonel Champion's former Dewan Cholly Churn, "who wants to have charge of the Pool bundee [roads and bridges] of Burdwan. He has real abilities, and made use of them with honour and integrity towards Col. Champion in the confidential situation he was placed in. He had an allowance of Rs. 3 from the Mint at Benares, afterwards reduced to Rs. 2, which was confirmed to him by Mr Hastings. Having been long in Col. Champion's family, it is natural for his old servants to come to me."

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[1] Lit. an oblong strip (of paper). A letter from a king (Hobson Jobson).

Colonel Macpherson carried on an extensive unofficial correspondence at this time with his brother officers in Bengal, and letters to and from many of them are extant.

Mess Expenses of a Subaltern in 1786.

Colonel A. G. Mackenzie, Commanding at Chunar Fort, writes on 26th March 1786: "Observing the general dissipation and extravagance of the 3rd Brigade to be carried even to infatuation I became uneasy about young McLeod, Razay's son. I took the opportunity offered me by a visit from him one evening that I was alone to ask him how he made it out on his pay and Batta, assuring him my reason for putting the question was to relieve him directly if any debt oppressed him. His answer deserves to be remembered: 'Sir, I esteem myself greatly obliged by your kind concern, but I find no want of any comfort upon my 240 rupees a month, neither do I owe a rupee to any man.'"

Exchange Discount levied by Benares Bankers.

On 5th June 1786 Colonel Mackenzie writes: "For these two months past the Exchange from Benares to Calcutta has been in general at 8½ per cent, and never lower than Rs. 7 As. 12 [*i.e.*, 7¾ per cent]. This enormous tax on remittances proceeds from a combination of the Shroffs, who seem to hold this country at their mercy. Of this Power the voracious Shroff fears not to make a tyrannical use. It is their cant phrase—the English hold the Sword, but we hold the Purse. The Resident at Benares exerts himself to dissolve this Combination to no purpose. Nothing can effectually do it but the interposition of Government. Suppose the Resident received orders to coin the Revenue into a Rupee, of the same value with the Calcutta Sicca—a prohibition at the same time to be laid on for transporting such currency to Bengal, and the Shroffs bound to accept 2 per cent for their Bills. This would be equitable. No one would grudge them 2 per cent profit or wish to transport the specie out of the Zemindary. At present the merchant, Manufacturer, and Ryot feels the iron hand of the rapacious Shroff. The prosperity of the

country cannot advance. If it does not diminish, it must be stationary.

N.B.—The Mint Master at Calcutta might suffer some loss of Perquisite, and would oppose this plan. Better, however, that he should lose 1 per cent than the Company and their Servants and Subjects lose 3 per cent. The exchange to Patna was yesterday at 5 : 12. Abominable ! "

Sir William Jones writes from the High Court as follows :—

"IN COURT, *6th Jan.* 1786.

"DEAR SIR,—Mirza Zairuddin Ishky is a man of genius and probity. I presented the Governor General last year with his works, and an Ode which I translated. He has been so poor that he has been forced to sell his darling books ; but his son in law, who is in the service of the Vizier's Minister, has now invited him to settle at Lucknow. It would be very honourable to him if the Governor would favour him with a recommendatory letter to the Nabob Vizier. His literary merit I can answer for.—Believe me, dear Sir, your ever faithful Servant, W. JONES."

COLONEL ALLAN MACPHERSON'S KINSMEN AND FRIENDS IN INDIA.

Among his kinsmen and relations serving in India (besides his brother Lieut.-Colonel John) were Lieutenant Æneas Macpherson, who died at Barrackpore in June 1784, to whose estate he was executor ; Ensign (afterwards Captain) Andrew Fraser, his wife's brother ; Ensign (afterwards Captain) Duncan Macpherson, of the Dalchully family in Badenoch, his second cousin ; and Ensign James Macpherson (afterwards of Belleville, son of James Macpherson, M.P., his first cousin). The last three all lived with him in Calcutta. He writes to his cousin James at home on 21st February 1785 that "Young James has been appointed A.D.C. to the Governor General," and on 23rd July 1786, when "Young James" is appointed to be a Political Assistant to Mr James Anderson,[1] "Envoy with the King (*i.e.*, Shah Alam) and with Scindia," he writes such a letter of

[1] Brother of Mr David Anderson.

advice as might properly be written to-day to a young Political Assistant.

"I am happy to hear that you are well and give such close attention to your Persian study. Rest assured, my friend, that a proper knowledge of this language, with your abilities, and the interest of your friends, gives you a better prospect of being sooner successful in this country, particularly with the situation you are placed in, than any other line which could be thought of for you. Let me earnestly entreat and advise you, my dear James, to spare no pains in becoming master of the Persian, and then the necessary part of the Arabic will become easy and wished for by yourself. A young man of interest and good sense with a proper knowledge of these languages can never miss being properly employed in this country. Look at Mr Anderson, who is at the Head of the Department to which you are appointed—he owes all to his own merit. He is a young man of the first abilities, and deservedly placed in the most distinguished situation he could have in this country. When you join him, ask his permission to be employed, and his advice on all occasions how to conduct yourself, and whenever he honours you with his confidence in any degree, be sure and most particularly careful (however trifling the business may appear to you) never to speak or write of it to any person whatever, not even to your most intimate or best friends, for if once you get a habit of talking upon matters which are privately told, or of a nature which ought to be kept a Secret, it will be difficult to get the better of it. Be sure to let it remain so in your own breast, for once you have mentioned a Secret to a single individual, you are no longer Master of yourself, but a Tool in the power of others. Your confidential or intimate friend has another in the same estimation, and so your secret runs round. There is no line of life in the world where such caution becomes so necessary as that of Politicks. With Mr Anderson be open and clear in all transactions, and endeavour to convince him by every part of your conduct that you have no secrets or no views independent of him. Show a willingness and chearfulness on all occasions to be useful, and to take as much of the labouring oar as possible off his shoulders. This

disposition and assiduity on your part will naturally make him inclined to make you fully master of the business of his Department, and confide in you without reserve in the most secret transactions of the Office.

"I know, James, that you are warm and of quick feelings. I admire such a disposition in a young man. In all situations in life such passions must be carefully watched, but in none does it become so absolutely necessary as in a political line. A man who shews the feelings of his heart in his countenance will soon be discovered by experienced men in the search of political secrets; and even in a private capacity do not be ready to take notice of trifles except in a laughable manner. On the other hand, when you are intentionally offended, act with steadiness and coolness.

"Should Mr Anderson ask you to be of his family, do not by any means refuse, but if he should not, do not conduct yourself as if you felt a neglect. On the contrary, be polite, attentive, and frequent in your visits, and constantly above all things in the way of the duties of your office.

"One circumstance more I have to recommend to you, and that is that you do not encourage visits from the natives except such as Mr Anderson recommends to you for conversation and information, as it will be cause for jealousy and discontent, which you should with great care avoid giving.

"Now my dear James, this letter contains the very advice I would give my own son in your situation, and I hope you will receive it in the same light I would wish him to do, for I will venture to say that there is no man except your father who has your interest and welfare more sincerely at heart than myself.

"Lord Cornwallis is coming out Governor General, but he has made mention of his wish for Mr Macpherson's continuance in so handsome a manner that he will not think of going Home this year. So go you on chearfully to your Office, and depend upon every support that friendship can give you and your own conduct shall merit.

"I enclose letters to introduce you at Patna and Dinapore, and you shall find letters for Benaris and Chunar at Major Hardy's—I am not certain whether he is at Patna or Dinapore.

He formerly lived at Patna, but he was lately appointed to a Battalion at Dinapore.

"My letter to Col. Mackenzie at Chunar will procure you a small Guard to Cawnpore.—Wishing you health and prosperity, I am, my dear James, your sincere and affectionate friend,

ALLAN MACPHERSON."

Another of Colonel Macpherson's kinsmen was John MacIntyre, his first cousin once removed, son of Dr Donald MacIntyre of the 42nd Black Watch, and of Isobel, sister of James Macpherson. He came to Bengal in 1771 as a cadet in the Company's service, especially recommended by James Macpherson to Captain Allan Macpherson. He was appointed a Lieutenant of Artillery, and served for some years in Calcutta as Assistant Secretary to the Board of Ordnance, eventually succeeding Captain John Murray as Secretary to the Board. During his stay in Calcutta he was on the closest terms of friendship with Allan Macpherson, and transacted much of his business. Many of his letters, written in India and during leave at home, are extant. He served in India till 1804, and attained the rank of Lieut.-General. In 1806 he married Harriet, daughter of Colonel Allan Macpherson. He died in 1828. A monument was erected to his memory by his widow in St Columba's Church, Kingussie. Mrs MacIntyre afterwards married Colonel E. B. Craigie, of Ferry Bank, in Fife. Portraits of General MacIntyre and of his father, Dr Donald MacIntyre, are at Blairgowrie. Mrs Macpherson's brother, Andrew Fraser (last of Fairfield in Inverness), went to India in 1783, and rose to be a Captain in the Company's forces, and died in India before 1814.

Among Allan Macpherson's closest friends in India were the four brothers, John, Alexander, Peter, and Robert Murray (or McGregor), all soldiers (sons of Evan McGregor of Glencarnaick, A.D.C. of Prince Charlie in 1745).

The journals and letters first mention Ensign John Murray as serving on the staff of Colonel Champion in the Rohilla Campaign, and then tell of him as Secretary to the Board of Ordnance in Calcutta. He and his wife, Anne Murray (*née* McLeod), showed great kindness to Miss Fraser on her arrival from Madras. She was married to Colonel Allan Macpher-

son from their house. After leave in Europe, John Murray and Mrs Murray returned to Calcutta in 1787, and a letter from Dr William Dick (afterwards of Tullymet in Perthshire) tells Mrs Macpherson that Mrs Murray "takes rank in Calcutta after the High Court Judges' ladies, and that she dances like a girl of 15." Colonel Allan Macpherson's correspondence with John Murray (afterwards Sir John Macgregor Murray, Bart., of Lanrick Castle in Perthshire) goes on after his retirement from India till 1813.[1]

Captain (afterwards Colonel) Alexander Murray took a great interest, as his letters show, in helping Colonel Allan Macpherson in his courtship of Miss Fraser. He writes affectionate and amusing letters to Colonel and Mrs Macpherson extending over many years.

Writing to Miss Fraser on 4th December 1781 from Chunarghar, Alexander Murray says: "Since my last . . . I have seen but one thing worth describing to you, and that was a dress which Mrs Hastings wore some evenings ago. It was a black satin riding jacket and petticoat, the jacket and the bottom of the petticoat were edged with 40 or 50 rupee pearls, the buttons on the sleeves were diamonds; on her left shoulder was a valuable Diamond Star: and two large Diamonds marked the length of her waist. Her under jacket, or waist coat, was of white sattin, ornamented with two rows of diamond buttons of a good size. Her Hatt was black, edged with pearls of 70 or 80 Rupees' value each; the button and loop were of diamonds, and could not be worth less than from four to five thousand pounds sterling. Pendant to a black feather which nodded over her left eye was a large drop diamond, and in the front of the Hatt was another of a large size. In short, it was the most elegant and costly undress that was perhaps ever worn; and Mrs Hastings, who happened to be in better health than usual that evening, looked like an angel. People who saw the dress are universally of opinion that it would not be worth less than from five and twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling."

From 1782 to 1785 Colonel Alexander Murray writes letters

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[1] The Murray brothers in their letters refer to John Macpherson the Governor-General as "the Thane," and to James Macpherson (translator of 'Ossian') as "Fingal."

to Colonel Allan Macpherson from Fort Marlborough, Benculin,[1] Sumatra, where he was in command of the Company's military forces from 1782 to 1785. He describes Fort Marlborough as "a detestable place." After losing his first wife, Colonel Alexander Murray, in 1790, married Lieut.-Colonel John Macpherson's widow (*née* Grace Hay). In 1797 he raised and commanded the Royal Highland Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, and in 1798 he received the command of the Royal Clan Alpine Fencibles.

Peter Murray and his wife Eliza were also on affectionate terms with Allan Macpherson and his family; Eliza Murray was godmother to their son William. Peter Murray remained in Bengal for some time after Allan Macpherson's departure, and held the office of Adjutant-General in India. A notice received at Blairgowrie House in August 1803 tells that he died in action in the Irish Channel. The "Lord Nelson," East Indiaman, on which he was returning to England, was attacked by a French cruiser, and captured after a gallant resistance, in which Captain Murray three times led the repulse of boarders.

Among other intimate friends may be mentioned Colonel Alexander Champion, Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse,[2] "the father of the Bengal Artillery," Colonel J. Upton, General Giles Stibbert, Captain (afterwards Colonel) Sweny Toone, Colonel William Blair, Colonel William Duncan (of Smalholm, near Kelso), Mr F. B. Thomas, surgeon, "a friend of 17 years," Mr J. Turing, in Madras, Mr Thomas Graham, Resident in Benares, and Mr James Grant, who later held the same office, Colonel William Elliot, Dr William Dick (afterwards of Tullymet in Perthshire, and father of Sir Robert Dick, a hero of the Peninsular War), Mr T. Law (Gya), Colonel A. Parke (Lochore, in Fife), Colonel Patrick Duff, Major Thomas Scott and Captain William Scott, Major Lewis Grant, Colonel R. Grant, Captain John Macdonald, Colonel A. Hardy, Major Moses Crawford and Captain James Crawford, Mr Daniel Campbell, surgeon, Lieutenant Archibald Ferguson,

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[1] The East India Company established a settlement in Sumatra in 1685 for the purpose of carrying on the pepper trade. In 1825 the British settlements in Sumatra were given up in exchange for Malacca and other Dutch settlements.

[2] An article published in 1909 in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' Vol. 185, tells of Colonel T. D. Pearse.

Lieutenant Robert McGregor, Major S. Kilpatrick, Captain Robert Baillie, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Stuart, Mr John Stables, James and John Fraser, Colonel Gabriel Harper (at Lucknow), Major C. R. and Mrs Deare. Letters to or from most of these friends are among Lieut.-Colonel Allan Macpherson's papers.

Colonel Macpherson was a member of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and one of the managers of the Calcutta Military Orphanage. On his voyage home he writes to an official of the Orphanage to be "attentive to the children."

THE SAIR MUTAKHERIN.

He was entrusted by "Haji Mustapha" (a French Creole of the name of F. Raymond, who also took the pseudonym of "Nota Manus") with the responsibility of taking to England his translation of the Sair Mutakharin.[1]

Mustapha writes to Colonel Macpherson on 12th January 1787: "I avail myself of the kind offer you have honoured me with, and I send you herewith the 29 quires of the intended book. It is dedicated to Governor Hastings, and contains a general History of India from 1706 to the year 1781 inclusively, with a particular history of the Rises and Falls of the families of Seradj-ed dowlah (of Bengal) and Shudjah-ed doulah (of Oudh); likewise an account of the English wars in Bengal and Deccan, with a surprising narrative of the English Parliament and Constitution; the whole ending by a critical examination of their system of government in Bengal by a nobleman now living at Rhotas. I have taken, Sir, the liberty to include here for your perusal my letter to my correspondents in London as I conceive it is proper you should have an idea of its contents. . . . The bundle is consigned to Messieurs Bourdieu Chollet and Bourdieu in Lime Street, London."

In his "Proposals for publishing by subscription" the translation (which was apparently published in Calcutta in 1789),

[1] 'A History of India from 1119 to 1194 of the Hijra, written in Persian by Ghulam Husain Khan, a noble who lived at the Court of Bengal.'

the translator states that his work "was hurried to London in a rough state merely to afford some timely assistance to that great man (Hastings) by elucidation upon so competent and so unconcerned an evidence, as our historian, several articles that went far towards clearing the Governor's character." "It was intended to regale him with the surprise of it." . . . "The person to whose judgement and care the translation was submitted in London, an eminent historian . . . unfortunately proving to be deaf and upon his death-bed . . . his correspondent was obliged to lay it (the translation) by."

Colonel Macpherson's Collection of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts.

Colonel Macpherson made a small collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts, of which the following catalogue was made by Mr Charles James Lyall (afterwards Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I.) in 1884. These MSS. are at Blairgowrie House, Blairgowrie.

1. Akhbârul-Akhyâr—Biographies of Holy Men. First page wanting, date of MS. 1079 H. Persian.
2. Zij-i Ulugh Beg—Astronomical Talks, prepared in 823 H. by Mirza Ulugh Beg, son of Shâh-rukh, King of Samarkand, and by learned men under his direction. MS. undated. At end is a biographical sketch of Ulugh Beg in another hand. Persian.
3. Al-Fawâid Az-Ziyâ'îyah, otherwise called Sharh-i Mulla—A Commentary on the Kâfiyah of Ibn-al-Hâjib, a work on Arabic grammar, by Mulla Abdur-Rahmân Jâmi, a famous Persian poet and scholar. The date of the composition of the work is 897 H. The date of the MS. is wanting. Arabic. A good MS.
4. Two small works in Arabic on Arabic grammar, labelled on the outside Kâfiyah, but the titles within are—
   (1) Nuskha-e Zarîrî (copied in 23rd year of the Emperor Muhammad Shâh).
   (2) Al-Misbah—date not given. Arabic.
5. Qiranus-Sa'dain—A Masnavi or poem in couplets, by Amîr Khusrau of Dihli. Date of copy 1105 H. (37th year of Aurangzeb). Persian.
6. The Bostan or Garden of Shaikh Sadî of Shîrâz—not a very good copy. The copyist was ignorant of the metre of the poem, and several lines will not scan. Others have been transposed and words changed. Date of MS. 1188 H. (15th of Shah Alam). Persian.

7. Durri-Majalis or Pearl of Assemblies—A collection of anecdotes of the prophets and holy men. Name of the author illegible both in this copy and in the other (see No. 8). An exceedingly faulty MS., as will be seen by comparing it with No. 8 (which is equally incorrect, but does not generally exhibit the same mistakes).

   Copied by Jamâl (ud-din) Muhammad, of Bilgrâm in Oudh, in the 44th year (of Shâhjahân) at the house of Dârâ Shikoh in Lahore. *A seal bearing the transcriber's name is dated* 1083 H. Persian.
8. Another copy of the same work. Copyist Murâd-Bakhsh Beg. Date of MS. not given. A very faulty MS. Persian.
9. The Pand-Nâmah of Shaikh Farîd-ud-dîn 'Attâr. A famous poet and mystic. A collection of moral precepts. Date of copy 1168 H. Persian.
10. The seventh volume of the Rauzatus-Safâ of Amir Khwând (Mirkhond), a famous Persian history of the world. Date of MS. 999 H. Persian.
11. Ruqa'ât-i 'Âlamgîrî—Letters written by the Emperor Aurangzeb Âlamgir. MS. incomplete, without colophon or date. Persian.
12. The Diwân of Hâfiz (or rather a selection therefrom)—From p. 1 to p. 167 selected ghazals are given in alphabetical order, and then follow, in irregular sequence, others omitted from their proper place. The volume concludes with selections from the Masnavis, fragments, and rubâîs. Written in the 8th year of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Persian.
13. The Masnavi (poem in couplets) of Laila and Majnûn, by Hâtifî. Date of MS. 1073 H. Persian.
14. The Tûtî-nâmah, or Tales of a Parrot—A collection of 52 stories from various sources. Colophon and date of MS. wanting. P. 1 supplied in another hand. Persian.
15. Târîkh-i Shamsher Khâmî—An abridgement of the Shâhnâmah of Firdausi in prose and verse. Date of MS. wanting (month is given but not year). Date of composition of work 1063 H. (26th of Shâhjahân), written by Tawakkul Beg waqi', a navîs or diarist to Shamsher Khân, Governor of Ghazni. Persian.
16. The Gulistan or Rose garden of Shaikh Sadi of Shîrâz. Date of MS. 1193 H. Persian.
17. The Dahâr'i-Dânish—A collection of stories. Date of MS. not legible. Persian.
18. The Farhang-i Jahângiri—A dictionary of the Persian language compiled in the reign of the Emperor Jahangir. An incomplete copy, unfinished towards the end, the red letter titles not having been filled in, and wanting the prefaces on points of Persian grammar and style with which the complete work commences. Date of transcription not given. Some pages wanting at end. Persian.
19. Inshâ-i Brahman—The Insha (or models of epistolary style) of Chandarbhân Brahman. Date of copy apparently 1195 Fasli, while Raja Balwant Singh of Benares ruled the province of Allahabad in the 5th year of Shah Alam. Persian.

20. Târikh Zikr Sulâtin Hindostân—A history of the kings of India down to the reign of Shâh Âlam. Composed at the instance of Col. Allan Macpherson by Munshi Ghulâm Bâsit. Date 1201 H. 1786 A.D. Persian.
21. Diary kept by Munshi Ghulam Ali, Captain Allan Macpherson's Persian writer, of a march from Allahabad to Purandhar in the Deccan, between the 5th October 1775 and 4th January 1776. Persian.
22. A collection of private letters in Persian addressed to the Hon. John Macpherson, Governor-General, beginning January 1786.
    Within the same cover, but not stitched :—
    (1) A collection of petitions and miscellaneous letters addressed to various persons.
    (2) An account of the territories and the expense of the Army and the expenditure under the control of Nawab Âsafuddaulah, Wazirul Mulk.

Return to Europe.

Colonel Macpherson decided to go to Europe with Mr John Macpherson, the ex-Governor-General, and obtained permission from the Council, which was communicated to the Court of Directors in the following terms :—

"Lt. Col. Allan Macpherson, who has held the office of Q.M.G. for several years past, has obtained our permission to resign the Hon. Company's service, and return to Europe in the Berrington. As Col. Macpherson has served the Company for nearly 23 years with Credit and Reputation, and as it is not his intention to relinquish his future prospects in their Service, we beg leave to recommend him to your notice, and to request that he may be permitted to return to India, without prejudice to his rank in the Army, whenever he may make application to your Honble. Court for that indulgence. In the year 1765 Col. Macpherson served at the reduction of Chunar, and in the Campaign against the Vizier Sujah ud daulah and the Maratta Army under Mulhar Row. He was afterwards employed with the detachment to the Coast of Coromandel under Col. Peach, and returned with it to Bengal in 1769 at the conclusion of the peace. In 1773 he served against the Marattas, in 1774 in the Rohilla Campaign, and in 1775 he was deputed in a confidential station with the late Col. Upton to Poona. In the years 1780 and 1781 he

commanded the detachment on the frontier of the Cuttack Province, when the Maratta Army (under the command of Chimnajee Boosla) assembled in that neighbourhood."

Preparations for Voyage Home.

At the beginning of October 1786 Colonel Macpherson engaged passages for himself and his family and for Mr John Macpherson in the ship *Berrington*—the ship in which Hastings had returned to Europe two years before. For "3 windows of the Great Cabin on the starboard side with the Quarter Gallery" to accommodate him and Mrs Macpherson, two children, two women servants, and one man servant he pays to Captain Thomas Ley 12,000 sicca rupees; and he engages "half the Round house on the Starboard side with its Quarter Gallery for Mr John Macpherson, with one or two servants as he may judge necessary, for 12,500 sicca rupees."

In 1781, as a bachelor, he had estimated his requirements for a voyage home on a comparatively modest scale as follows:—

"*Wanted for a passage to Europe.*

	Rupees.
"100 new shirts	800
20 pairs of sheets and pillow cases	200
12 dozen towels	50
36 waistcoats, white	144
5 dozen stocks	30
6 dozen markings	120
12 pairs Patna shoes	10
6 dozen short drawers	30
12 pair of breeches, coloured	36
12 waistcoats, coloured	36
12 dozen handkerchiefs	72
Hatts and coats	50
12 pairs Coccumbazar gloves	12
Hanging cott Patna chair	20
Hair ribbon	10
12 packs cards—China small chatta (umbrella)	14
12 dozen Madeira	144

	Rupees.	
3 dozen hock	60	
1 dozen spirits	16	
12 dozen Sitacoon water	50	
12 gallons common arrack	24	
¼ chest of tea, tea-pot, kettle, &c.	50	
½ tub of sugar, butter 15 seir	35	
1 cheese, 1 mnd. fine biscuit in two kegs	30	
3 dozen mango shrub	40	
Lime juice, Tamarinds	20	
Tinned flour (?), yams, glasses, and tumblers	40	
2 knives and 2 forks, small glass Lanthorn, and 100 candles	30	
	——	2181
Pocket money		1000
Passage		4000
Total rupees		7181."

As a married man he has to provide for his voyage on a much more ample scale. He pays to Messrs J. & R. Stewarts, coachmakers, Rs. 372 sicca, for "two teak wood sea cots, made to answer occasionally as swinging cots, each with six drawers and with the best Europe brass locks and handles," and for his two children Rs. 180 more "for two smaller cots, also with 6 drawers each and made to swing occasionally." In November he obtains through his friend Colonel Burrington at Monghyr "264 bhangies of Seetacoon water," which are despatched to Calcutta in 70 earthen jars, with covers, in a 500 maund boat for use on the voyage.

A detailed list of his baggage gives the contents of each of the 24 cot drawers and of 21 chests and trunks. He took 73 shirts and 76 stocks in his cot drawers, and 110 more shirts and 135 stocks in his trunks. Of Mrs Macpherson's wardrobe it suffices to say here that she had 65 pairs of stockings and 146 handkerchiefs in her cot drawers, and an "Auld Robin Gray" cap and "superfine white crape and white ribbons" bought from Mrs Eliza Fay, the letter writer and milliner, who lived in a house near her in Calcutta. She employed at least 6 darzis during her last three months in Calcutta, and had at least 17 new gowns, habits, and jackets. Her son William

(aged 2½) had 124 new frocks made for him for the voyage, and her daughter Harriet (aged 7 months) 183 new frocks. Mrs Macpherson takes 15 shawls and 4 shawl handkerchiefs and Dacca and Madras muslins and other cloths as presents for her friends at home.

Besides the Sitacoon water, they send on board the Indiaman 7 chests and trunks of provisions, including "portable soup" (costing Rs. 101), biscuits, flour, rice, tins and glass jars of cherries, prunes, apricots, jams, sago, &c., &c., and a "Family Medicine Chest complete" (costing Rs. 170). A complete list of the wines which Colonel Macpherson took on board the *Berrington* for his voyage is not forthcoming; but he paid Captain Ley Rs. 70 : 10 : 10 for half a leaguer of rum containing 77 gallons; he sends a pipe of Madeira to Cattlagachi; and on 18th January he pays Messrs Pope & Fairlie Rs. 269 : 15 for 6 dozen of port wine, Rs. 436 : 2 for another 6 dozen of port, and Rs. 364 : 9 for 6 dozen of English claret and Rs. 90 for 2 dozen of orange shrub. He bought 13 dozen of French claret at Rs. 12 a dozen on 1st November 1786, and 5 dozen of Europe bottled brandy for Rs. 18 a dozen on 24th October. He also pays Captain Ley 525 Company's rupees for freight from Bengal to England of "3½ pipes of Madeira," but this was not for consumption on the voyage, as it is duly sent later to the India House with "2 small casks of Cape wine," which he adds during the voyage.

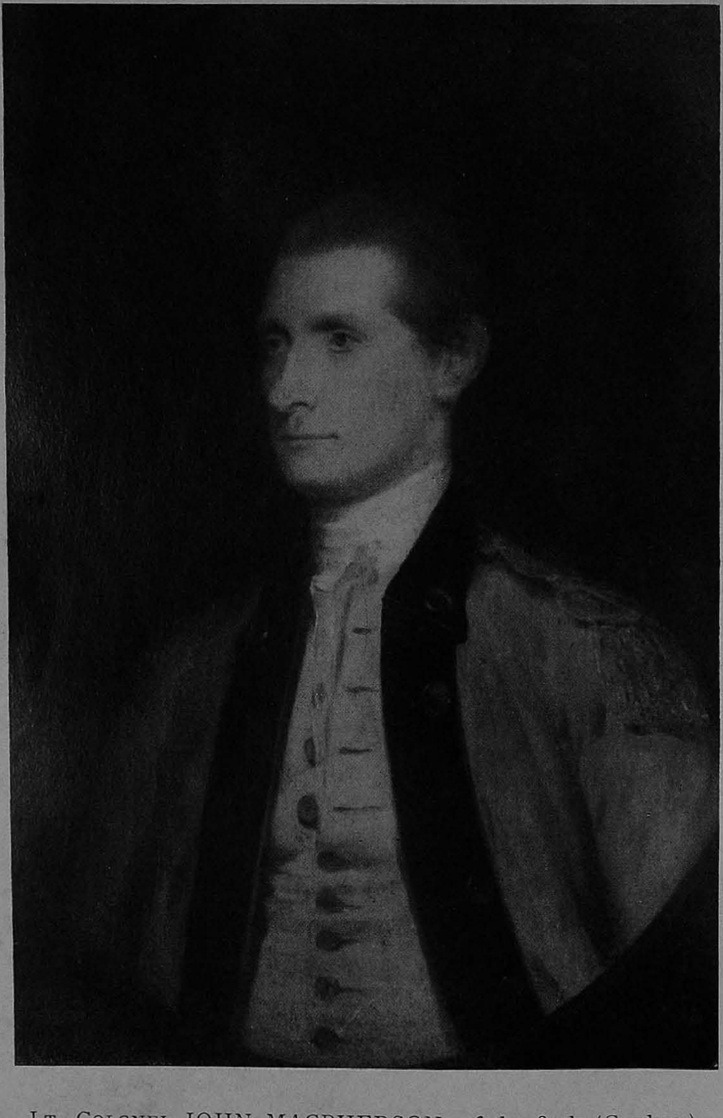
A Portuguese servant, "Frank," is engaged for the voyage for a payment of 400 sicca rupees, of which 200 are paid down, and 200 more are to be paid by Colonel Macpherson's agents in Calcutta at the rate of 12 rupees a month to Frank's wife. Of the women servants—Anne, Peggy, and Phyllis—Anne was engaged for the voyage for a payment of Rs. 150 down to her husband Hatton Walker, and £30 sterling to be paid to her on arrival in England. Phyllis, Ayah, was engaged for Rs. 500 for the voyage, and Rs. 100 for "cloth."

Colonel Macpherson's household accounts for wages of private servants for his last month in Calcutta show a total of Rs. 712 for 107 servants, including 8 munshis and writers, 5 runners, 3 chobdars, 16 bearers, 10 table servants, 3 ayahs, 6 tailors, 2 compodores (or purchasers for the household), 20 in the stable, 4 in the garden, and 13 in the pinnace and boats. His effects are advertised in the 'Calcutta Gazette'

of 18th January 1787 to be sold by public auction at his house in Church Street by Williams & Lee on 25th January, consisting of "Furniture of all kinds, very elegant and useful plate, books, china and glass ware, a close carriage, a phaeton, two pair of carriage horses, a remarkable fine riding horse, &c."

Writing to Mrs Macpherson at Madras, her brother, Andrew Fraser, tells her that "the Colonel's horses sold very well—the saddle horse for Rs. 1900, the sorrels for Rs. 1100 and the greys for Rs. 1050, the carriage for Rs. 800."

The *Berrington* sailed from Calcutta on the 29th January, and did not leave Madras before the 17th February. At Madras Colonel Macpherson and his family go on shore, and stay with their friend Mr J. Turing. The *Berrington* touches at the Cape and at St Helena, and arrives at Southampton apparently about 10th August, as Colonel Macpherson and his family leave in a coach for London on 11th August 1787.



LT. COLONEL JOHN MACPHERSON, of the 89th (Gordons) Regiment, and afterwards of the East India Company's Service.

Born about 1742. Died in August 1784.

(From a Portrait painted in Calcutta in 1782, by Thos. J. Seton.)

CHAPTER XVII.

MEMOIRS OF LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN MACPHERSON'S SERVICE IN INDIA, FROM 1760 TO 1782.

Went to India as an Ensign in 89th Regiment, 1760. At the taking of the French settlements on the Malabar coast, 1761. Fought at the battle of Buxar, October 1764, and wounded at the first assault on Chunar, December 1764. Appointed to the Company's service. One of the officers who resigned the service in 1766 in connection with "batta," but was reinstated. Journals of marches in 1773 and 1774 in Bihar, Oudh, Benares, Allahabad, and Rohilla countries. His poor opinion of Lucknow. Letter to Sir John Clavering, 18th December 1775. Commands 14th Sepoy Battalion, April 1777. Journal of march from Berhampore to Dinapore in June and July 1778. Gallant conduct of Lieutenant William Preston in saving a woman from drowning. Surrender of French factory at Patna. Transport of battalion by boat from Dinapore to Barrackpore, August and September 1778. His grievance against the Commissary of Boats. A quarrel in Fort William. Mr Hastings' view of the matter. Journal of march of Major Camac's detachment from Calcutta, through Chota Nagpore to Dinapore, January to July 1779. March from Dinapore to Benares and Chunar, October to November 1779; Chunar to Cawnpore, December to January 1780. His health failing. Letters to his brother Allan. Takes his passage for Europe, but resolves to stay till his brother can go with him. At Dinapore, 1781. Incursion of Raja Fateh Sahi into the Saran District. Prompt action taken by Major John Macpherson. Journal of march from Dinapore to Fatehgarh, April to June 1781; and to Cawnpore and Lucknow, September to October 1781. Disaffection of Raja Chet Singh and perilous position of Warren Hastings at Benares in August 1781 described at length. Hostility of villagers in Lucknow. Major Macpherson's health again breaks down. Interview with Warren Hastings at Chunar. Unsuccessful in obtaining transfer. Resigns service. The Board's Resolution on his service. Promoted to be Lieut.-Colonel. Sails from Calcutta, April 1782. Marries in 1783. Dies in August 1784. Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Murray's testimony to his memory.

[JOHN MACPHERSON, having spent his early years in Badenoch, in his seventeenth year received a commission as an Ensign on 19th October 1759 in the 89th Highland Regiment (Gordons)

—a regiment which was raised under the influence of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon. This regiment went to India in 1760, and was at the taking of the French Settlements on the Malabar Coast in 1761.[1] Except in a letter (cited later) addressed to the Commander-in-Chief in India, John Macpherson has left no record of this early service. In 1764 John came to Bengal with a detachment of the regiment under Major Hector Munro, and fought under him at the battle of Buxar on 23rd October 1764. He was severely wounded in the first assault on the fortress of Chunar in December 1764. The 89th Regiment was on the point of being disbanded,[2] and John Macpherson was one of the officers who were transferred to the East India Company's service. His commission as an Ensign in the Company's service has effect from 18th December 1764, and is signed by John Spencer, Governor of Fort William. His commission as Lieutenant has effect from 9th September 1766, and is signed by Governor Harry Verelst on 7th September 1767.

John Macpherson was one of the forty-two officers at Monghyr who (as told in Chapter II. of this book) in 1766 resigned the Service and were sent to Calcutta under arrest in connection with the discontent about Field Allowance; but he was shortly afterwards restored to the service.[3] His commission as a Captain has effect from 17th of April 1769, and is signed on 2nd July 1770 by John Cartier, Governor of Fort William, and six other members of the Council, including Richard Barwell.

John's earliest extant writings are journals for parts of the years 1773 and 1774 telling of his marches in Bihar, Oudh, the Benares, Allahabad, and Rohilla countries. These are not so full as his journals for later years, and generally contain little but names of places. In February and March 1773 he goes by boat in charge of a detachment, including eighteen gentlemen cadets, from Dinapore to Cawnpore, and then marches through the Rohilla country to Ramghat. In May

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[1] An account of the taking of the French settlements of Mahe and Calicut in the year 1761 is given on p. 642, Vol. i. of Beveridge's 'History of India.'

[2] Or recalled—see page 4 of this book.

[3] Broome's 'History of the Bengal Army,' p. 576. See also pp. 18 to 22 of this book.

he returns to Cawnpore, and goes back by boat to Dinapore. In February to March 1774 he marches from Dinapore *viâ* Sasseram, Moghul Sarai, and Sultanpore Cantonments to "within 3 coss of Lucknow." He visits Lucknow on 24th March, and notes that he was "much disappointed. It cuts a most despicable figure—not a good house to be seen in the place. The Nabob's Palace could not be visited on account of the old Bigam, his mother, being there. There's a number of gardens round the town." On 3rd April he is ordered back from Belgram, where the Commander-in-Chief (Colonel Champion) is in camp, to Chunargarh. On 30th July 1774 he goes from Chunargarh to Dinapore for the drafts from the 1st and 3rd Brigades and from the Artillery. On 6th August he leaves Dinapore with stores-boats, and goes by water to Chunargarh, where, on 27th August, he receives an 18-pounder carriage, then by boat to Cawnpore and to Kinoudge [Kanauj], where he delivers his stores to Lieutenant Higgins on 11th October. He goes on by boat to Bareilly, where he arrives on 28th October, and reports himself by letter to Colonel Galliez and to the Commander-in-Chief. On 14th November he receives orders from the Camp of Ramghat, and on 18th he marches for Ramghat, where he arrives on 24th. On 5th December he is encamped at Oussett.

He writes from Dinapore on 18th December 1775 to Lieut.-General Sir John Clavering, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengal, as follows :—

"Sir,—Your known readiness to listen to the pretensions of every officer induces me to trouble you with this address, and unsupported by friends, as personally unknown to you as I am, Sir, I venture to hope for your Countenance and Consideration of my long services.

"I have now served in India sixteen years. I was at the taking of all the French Settlements on the Malabar Coast during the last War. In 1764 I came round to Bengal, and served under Major Munro at Buxar in October, and in December following received a Violent wound in my right Arm in attempting to storm the Fortress of Chunargurr. Major Fletcher, who succeeded in the Command to Major Munro, did me the Honor to Distinguish my Services; and in the Campaign with the Marratas under the command of

General Carnac, I acted as Adjutant and Brigade Major, for which I never received a Rupee, though the then Major Stibbert presented my Claim to the Board.

"Colonel Peach, under whom I afterwards served as Adjutant, recommended me to the Governor Verelst. Colonel Smith gave public testimony of his Approbation of my Conduct, and Col. Champion in the last Campaign [1] was pleased to recommend me to Mr Hastings, in terms I am persuaded the Governor may not have forgot. Superior interest and untoward Circumstances have always intervened to disappoint me in every Expectation from my rank and length of service, and since I have been a Captain now seven years, I have enjoyed no advantage but my Pay and Batta."

He goes on to ask that he may be given a command in the troops of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. An autograph letter dated 29th December 1775 from Sir John Clavering, in reply, tells him that all such appointments have been filled up.

On the 22nd April 1777 Captain John Macpherson was appointed to the command of the 14th Battalion of Sepoys.

A journal kept by him from June 1778 to October 1781 is given in the following pages.]

Journal of Captain John Macpherson, 14th Battalion of Sepoys.

Giving an account of a March from Berhampore to Dinapore in 1778 *and of the Surrender of the French Factory at Patna.*

[There is a draft, or original, Journal and a fair copy. Both begin on 15th June 1778. The draft Journal ends on 14th January 1780. The fair Journal, which is not always written from day to day, carries on John Macpherson's story to November 1781.]

1778. *June* 15*th*, *Monday*. Marched with the 14th Battn. of Sepoys from Berhampore; the rainy season sett in very severe, and encamped at Bamaniah

[1] The Rohilla Campaign of 1774.

above the Citty of Murshadabad. 16*th*. Encamped at Comrah. 17*th*. Cross'd the Cassum Bazar river (or Bagrutty) at Sooty, and encamp'd at Narungabad.

18*th*. Crossed three rapid nullahs in Boats, and made two Bridges. The whole of the road very bad and under water. Encamp'd at Furakabad.

19*th*. The Country being quite under water, I was obliged to go round by the hills. The whole of the road very bad. I did not get to my Ground till past two oclock P.M., though I march'd at 2 in the morning. Encamp'd in the Center of Tajmaull at Sizindalan. Rain'd all that night and all next day so very severe that I halted.

21*st*, *Sunday*. Marched, the road very bad under water, obliged to go round by the hills. One of the Camels fell down with his load of tents, sent back an Elliphant for his load after I got to my ground at Sikaragully or the lowest pass.

22*nd*. The low road not passable, obliged me to keep close to the hills, very bad road. Made two bridges, one a little above Gungapursade, the other over the Nullah at Tilliagurry, the upper pass, and encamp'd at Shawabad.

23*rd*. The road dry and good, being very high ground; crossed the Colgong Nullah in Boats and encamp'd.

24*th*. Very good road; crossed the Teermuhon and Goghah Nullahs in Boats, and Encamp'd on the Banks of the Goghah Nullah. Both Nullahs very rapid and full of water.

25*th*. The road very good, but heavy rain the whole morning. Crossed the Champnagurr Nullah; had only one boat to cross the Detachment. All the plates and dishes brock [broken]. Encamped on the banks; was received in a very Hospitable and polite manner by Mr Bartin, Chief at Boglipore, where I, with the Gentlemen of the Detachment, dined.

26th. Did not march till daylight, having rained very heavy all night; much water on the ground. Encamped between Janjurie and Gurgatt Nullah.

27th. Crossed Gurgatt Nullah; had much trouble in getting the Elephants across. The banks very steep on each side, and no boats fit to cross them in. Encamped between Mongheer and Dakar Nullah in Nabob-ka-Baggan.

28th and *29th.* Halted the 29th. About 2 oclock P.M. came on a very Severe and Sudden Squall of wind and rain, which Destroyed all the boats belonging to the Detachment, and though in the middle of the day and all the Sepoys and camp followers did all in their power, several lives were lost. Amongst the rest one of my drummers and a Brother of his. His mother was very near drowned, but saved at the risk of Lieut. William Preston's life, who threw himself in the river and got her ashore; but making a second attempt to get the Child, was carried down the river a good way on a piece of a Chopar [roof thatch], and with difficulty got ashore, but the Child was dead. My Budgerow, with great difficulty, was saved, but the whole of the Detachment lost all the Baggage and Stores of all sorts, which every person in this country is obliged to carry with them wherever they go. I lost everything except my Clothes, which were in the Budgerow.

30th. Mustered the Detachment, and immediately after ordered Lt. Robert Gumly with two Companies to march into Monghier Fort to relieve a Company of Captain James Brown's Light Infantry, and remain there as a Guard for the Nabob, Sijdat-Ally, Brother to the present Vizier, Nabob Assaph-ull-Daullah.

July 1st. Cross'd Dakar and Singie Nullahs, and Encamp'd above Suraj-gurry on the Banks of the River; the whole of the March very bad road.

2nd. Cross'd Sutpurd, Keil, and Jowah Nullahs;

all very rapid; cross'd in Boats; the whole of the road very bad. Went round by the hills, the low road being covered with water; encamp'd opposite to Balgudier, on the banks of Jowah Nullah.

3rd. Encamp'd at Deriahpore. Last night the Zemindar of Balgudan informed me that there was 30 Dekyts [Dacoits or Robbers] followed the ——, and that he would give me people that would find them if I would order them to lay hold of them. This morning several of these fellows was laid hold of; they acknowledge that there was many more of them going about Camp. Very good road all this morning.

4th. Very good road. Encamped at Bhaar [Barh]. *5th.* At Bidipore. *6th.* At Jaffer Kawn's Gardens. *7th.* Arrived at Dinapore Cantonments. Very bad road through Patna, the rest pretty good.

Surrender of French Factory at Patna, 1778.

At Dinapore, 15*th July* 1778. Received the following orders from the Chief and Council of Patna: "To Captain John Macpherson, Commanding the Troops at Dinapore. Sir,—Herewith we transmit you an order which has been enclosed to us by the Honble. the Governor General and Council, and have in Consequence to require you will immediately march into Bankipore with 4 Companys of your Battalion with their Arms and Ammunition, when you will be furnished with such further instructions as we have in Charge to give you.

(Signed) Ewan Law, Edwd. Golding, Wm. Young, Shearman Bird, D. Anderson.

Patna, 15*th July* 1778."

With the above received the following from the Governor General and Council: "To Captain John

Macpherson, or the Officer Commanding the Troops at Dinapore: Sir,—You are hereby Commanded to pay immediate obedience to such orders as you shall herewith receive from the Chief and Council at Patna. We are, Sir, Your most obedient servants.

(Signed) Warren Hastings, Richard Barwell, P. Frances, Edward Wheler.

FORT WILLIAM, *9th July* 1778."

Both the above I received at 8 oclock at night, 19th July 1778. I ordered the four Companys, and march'd immediately to Bankipore, where I stay'd all night, after receiving the following instructions from the Patna Council. "To Captain John Macpherson. Sir,—In Consequence of a Declaration of War made by Great Britain against France and France against England, we are ordered by the Honble. the Governor General and Council to Demand of the Chief the Surrender of the French Factory with all Stores, &c. We have thought proper to Depute Mr Bird a Member of this Board for that purpose, and we have to desire that you will accompany that Gentleman and surround the French Factory, which in case of refusal is immediately to be taken possession of by Force. Upon the Surrender of the Factory we have to request that you will leave an Officer with a sufficient Guard to take care of the Effects of which Mr Bird will take an inventory.

"Monsieur Panon and the other Subjects of France residing in the Factory are to be allowed to remain at large upon giving their Parole; such as refuse, or evade it, are to be Seized and made prisoners. We are, Sir, Your most obedient Servants,

(Signed) Ewan Law, Edwd. Golding, Wm. Maxwell, Willm. Young, Shearman Bird, D. Anderson.

15th July 1778."

Marched at 4 oclock in the Morning of the 16th July to the French Factory. The only European in it was old Mr Panon, whose Parole I took, and left him much better by being a prisoner than he was before, as he now receives sixty rupees per month, which, while he was Chief of a Factory, was only nominal. As to what was found may be seen by the following to the Governor General and Council:—

"To the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor General, and Council—

"Honble Sir and Sirs,—Last night I was honoured with your Commands of date the 9th inst., and in consequence of an Order from the Chief and Council at Patna I marched immediately with four Companys of my Battalion and took possession of the French Factory without opposition from Monsieur Panon the Chief, who is the only Subject of France found there, and he is at large on his Parole. There is nothing found except a few old firelocks and some private property of the Chief's.

"Mr Shearman Bird was deputed by the Chief and Council to take an Inventory of what Effects might be found in the Factory. I have left a Subaltern Officer and one Company of Sepoys in the Factory as a Guard, and returned this morning to Dinapore with the three Companys. I have the Honour to be, Hon. Sir and Sirs, &c.,

(Signed) J. Macpherson, Captain Commanding
the 14th Battn. Sepoys, 2nd Brigade.

Dinapore, 16*th July* 1778."

[Among John Macpherson's papers is the original letter of parole given by M. Panon. It is as follows:—

"Le Soussignè, Jean Jacques Panon, Chef du Comptoir Francais a Patna, fait prisonnier de guerre au dit Patna par le Capitaine John Macpherson, donne ma Parolle d'honneur

de ne point servir offencivement ni deffensivement contre Sa Majeste' Le Roi de La Grand Bretagne jusqu'a ce que la presents guerre soit finie.

A Patna, le seize Juillet 1778. (Signed) J. PANON."

The Journal continues :—

TRANSPORT OF 14TH BATTALION BY BOAT FROM DINAPORE TO BARRACKPORE, AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1778.

"Nothing very material happened till I received the following, the 8th August 1778 :—

"To Captain John Macpherson, Commanding at Dinapore.

"Sir,—You are hereby directed on receipt of this to hold the Battalions under your command in readiness to march, and upon the arrival of the two Companys of the Patna Militia Sepoys which are now at Buxar, and have been ordered down to Dinapore as a Guard for the Cantonments, you will proceed immediately with your Battalion to the Presidency with all Convenient Expedition. You will direct the Officer commanding the two Companys of your Battalion on command at Monghier with the Nabob Sijdat Ally Chawn to be in readiness to march and join the Battalion immediately on his being relieved, the mode of which relief will be hereafter notified to him. I have most Strenuously to recommend to you a particular attention to the Conduct and good order of your men upon their March down the Country, and to be careful that they do not plunder the Villagers, Nor give any Cause of Complaint whatever to the Inhabitants of the Districts through which you have to march. You will be pleased to give me information when

you leave Dinapore and from time to time of the progress you make on your march down the Country.
(Signed) Giles Stibbert, Commdr. in Chief.

FORT WILLIAM, 1*st August* 1778."

The above orders I received the 8th August, just a month after my arrival at Dinapore. I likewise received duplicates in a very pressing manner to hasten my march. I was much distress'd, for on issuing the orders for March, which I did the moment I received them, my men deserted in Numbers. Reason was the Battn. was first raised in this District, their friends and familys were all round them, the Battalion had been absent for several years and now was in hopes of seeing their friends and relations, but found themselves disappointed. Here I had a march of four hundred miles and upwards to undertake at a time of the year that it's seldom attempted. The whole Country under water owing to the overflowing of the Ganges and the heavy rains, which fall from the middle of June to the middle of October every year. It was impossible to march the low road, and the road through the mountains very little known, but at any rate I was determined to go through the Hills, and wrote to Captain James Brown, who then commanded the Light Infantry at Chikay Pass, to give me what directions he could about the road and passes, rivers, people, &c. But the men still deserted. Finding that this was the case, I resolved upon going by water if I could provide boats. I sett immediately about it, and with the assistance of Mr Kenneth Mackenzie I had boats sufficient in a few days for the whole of the Battalion, seven hundred and eighty men besides black officers, European Officers, and Serjeants. I then informed the Battalion that they were to go by water, and to prepare themselves accordingly. This

put an entire stop to the desertion, for from that time till my arrival at Calcutta I only lost two men; but by taking this step I disobeyed orders, and had any accident happened I should certainly suffer, for it was never thought of before: carrying a Battalion of Sepoys by water was thought impracticable. I embarked the people, and sent a Guard with all the Elephants, camels, horses, Bullocks, &c., by land to get down the best way they could, and arrived safe at Pulta, where Mr Princip has his Chintz Factory.

I left Lt. Aeneas Macpherson with two Companys to escort 30 lacks of rupees to Calcutta, which came down from the Vizier.

August 17*th*. Arrived the two Companys from Buxar. 20*th*. Embarked three Companys under the Command of Ensign Archd. Scott and Ensn. Ball, with orders to proceed to Sooty, and there wait my Arrival.

22*nd*. I embark with the rest, and got that night to Baar [Barh].

23*rd*. Sett off at daylight; at 2 oclock P.M. came on a very Severe Storm, which obliged me to stop all night at Suragegurry.

August 24*th*. Set off at daylight; arrived at Monghier at 12 oclock, but do not find any Appearance of Lieut. Gumly and the two Companys being relieved. Here I found it was not owing to the French War I was ordered to march, but in order to make room at Patna and Dinapore for a favourite of Mr Hastings, whom he ordered to that Station to raise a Battalion out of his turn, and to the prejudice of other worthy gentlemen and good officers. He would not have him so much mortified as to be under the Command of any other person.

25*th*. Arrived at Champnagurr Gaut. 26*th*. At Colgonge.

27*th*. With great difficulty and danger got to

Pointy, where I was obliged to stay 28th, as it blowed a storm.

29th. Got to Sikeragully pass. Still very Stormy.

30th. Got into the Cassambazar river (or Bagrutty). Stop at Udriah Village. *31st.* Joined Ensigns Scott and Ball at Sooty, and mustered in the afternoon.

September 1st. Arrived at Bamaniah. *2nd.* At Berhampore, where I stayed the 3rd. That night I was near lost in my Budgerow, it having filled with water in the night time.

4th. Rungamutty. *5th.* Plassey House. *6th.* Agurdeep. *7th.* Baranagurr. *8th.* Naiah Sairey. Made anchors for all the Boats. *9th.* Pulta.

10th. Landed and Encamped near Barrickpore. Here I landed Eleven men more than my Complement, the whole in good health and fit for service, which, had I marched, could not at this season be done in less than two months or six weeks at least, and then the few that would remain would be sick and unfit for any service. I gave myself great credit for the Expedition; my men healthy and ready for service, and I own expected to have some credit from my Superiors, but I was mistaken.

Next day I went to Calcutta and delivered a return to Mr Hastings, Governor General; was received in a very distant and unpolite manner, at which I own I was very much mortified, after doing my utmost for the publick service. I had great difficulty in getting paid for the boats, owing to Major Charles Morgan, Commissary for Boats, as it was New, and he thought likely to take money out of his pocket, though this was not from him; the Board ordered it to be paid out of the Treasury, and though I was called down from Dinapore to make room for the favourite, I got no credit for proving that Sepoys was to be transported by water as well as Europeans, yet the favourite was ordered to come down by water with his new raised

corps, and likewise Captain Adderly with his Battalion. The favourite's bills came to more for his men without Arms, Clothing, Servants, or any Baggage than mine did with Arms, Baggage, Servants, European Officers and Serjeants, and his bill was paid before mine. I had no friend at Court, so was obliged to put up with it.

I was obliged to Major Morgan for this, as he did all in his power to prevent my being paid by way of being revenged. He was afraid it would fall to his share to pay, for he was Contractor for Boats as well as Quarter Master General, and by the regulations of the Board was the only Check over the Contractor for boats; it was not to be supposed the boats would be ever ready or in good order while this was the case. The whole Army in Bengal can prove the truth of this.

At the Encampment near Barrickpore I joined Major John Stainforth, who was there with the 11th Battn., commanded by Captain Johnson, the 13th Battn. by Captain Crabb, and in a few days after was join'd by Captain Adderly with the 9th Battn., not in the best order. These four Battalions belonged to the 2nd Brigade. Here we lay during the rains in bad tents and on very bad ground, mostly covered with water, and until the beginning of January 1779, except that we took our tour of the Garrison duty of Fort William in turn with a Detachment of Sepoys of the 3rd Brigade Stationed at Barrickpore Cantonments.

The Journal continues (towards the end of 1778) as follows:—

A Quarrel in Fort William, 1778.

"There was a circumstance happened some little time after this when Captain Crabb commanded the Detachment from our Camp on Duty in the

Fort, which was formed by Detachments from each Battalion, as at this time it required 1500 men for that duty. A very young man, Ensign Rock, having the Main Guard, a drunken Serjeant quarrelled with and insulted a Subadar and some men of my Battalion that happened to have their tents near the Calcutta Gate. The Serjeant went *running* to Ensign Rock, the Officer of the Main Guard, and told him the Sepoys had mutinied. The Officer was a boy just admitted into the Service at the recommendation of my friend Lieut. Colonel Alexander Dow. He did not understand a word of the language, but believed everything as the drunken Serjeant told him, confined the Subadar and several of the Sepoys in irons, and sent and informed Lieut. Col. Pearce [Pearse], he being the commanding Officer in the Fort. Col. Pearce was very much surprised at what he heard, and he, with Captain Crabb, went immediately to the Main Guard, and after making particular Inquiry found there was no foundation for his alarm; but Mr Rock, like all boys who think themselves not only men but likewise experienced Generals as soon as they got a red Coat and Sword on, persisted in its being a mutiny, and he saw and heard the whole.

Col. Pearce waited on Mr Hastings the Governor, and told him everything as they really were; but instead of believing Col. Pearce he likeways insisted upon it that *it* was a mutiny, particularly when he found they belonged to the 14th Battalion, which was the number of mine.

When I heard it I was very much hurt to find Mr Hastings had acted in this manner, particularly as I was not sensible of ever having said or done anything about him or his Conduct, which a great number of people talked very freely about. I made every inquiry about it, and found no foundation for the report, and waited quietly for the General

Courtmartial for the trial of the prisoners. Mr Johnson, Judge Advocate General, was ordered by Mr Hastings to sit himself as Judge Advocate. I attended, of course, and the Serjeant and Ensign Rock gave in upon oath a great deal that they said they heard the people say and do, and called upon Several evidences to confirm what they said, but who all declared there was no such language pass'd, or anything done of what the Officer and Serjeant had declared.

I own I was very happy to find every word of the crime given in against my people proved false. I then asked Mr Johnson what he thought of the Tryall. He declared that he never heard of such an affair in his life, and that he was Absolutely ashamed to speak or to ask any questions at the prisoners, as the very evidence brought against them proved them innocent of every part of the crime brought against them, and that they were very ill treated. I then requested the Judge Advocate to put one question to Ensign Rock: "Do you understand any of the country language, or did you rely entirely upon what you was told by others?" Answer: "I do not understand a word of the language." So that he declared himself perjured in every part of the evidence he gave. I told Mr Johnson that I was perfectly satisfied of the people's innocence, and did not wish to ask any more questions; but that I thought the men had a right to some satisfaction, as likeways myself. Had the crime been proved against them, my Character as an Officer must suffer for having the Troops under my Command in such bad order and Discipline. Mr Johnson said that he had before explained the matter to the Governor, but that he would not hear of it, but now he had it in his power to prove what he before told him.

It was very clear from Mr Hastings' Conduct

towards me that he only wished for an opportunity to do me an injury, which put me on my Guard in regard to my Conduct.

I might have brought Ensign Rock to a Court Martial, which would have turned him out of the Service for perjury, but it would be of very little satisfaction to me, and I hope it will make him more careful in future."

[The Journal next tells of a march of a Detachment under Major Camac from Calcutta in 1779 to the Western Frontier of the Company's provinces, undertaken to give support to Colonel Goddard in his expedition against the Marathas, 1778-79.[1] In fact this Detachment did not go so far west as to join General Goddard. Major Allan Macpherson was excused from service in this expedition because he had gone into the Maratha Country on safe conduct on a peaceful mission (see p. *320* of this book).]

March of Major Camac's Detachment from Calcutta (beginning January 1779) to the Western Frontier to join General Goddard's Forces.

"General Orders by the Governor General and Council.

"Minutes of Council, 28th Dec. 1778.

"Ordered that the 13th and 14th Battalions of Sepoys do hold themselves in readiness to cross the river on Monday next, and to march *immediately* under the Command of Major Camac, without their Artillery, by the nearest practicable route to the Western Frontier of the Company's Provinces, and there to wait the Directions of Col. Goddard to join his Detachment."

Besides the above two Battalions there was seven hundred drafts commanded by Captain Bet-

[1] See Vol. i. p. 367 of Marshman's 'History of India.'

man. It was something very extraordinary ordering the above Detachment to join Col. Goddard without artillery, upwards of Eight hundred miles and the most part of it through the Marattah Country, the very people we were at war with. At last we were allowed two Brass 6-pounders. The road we had to march was so very bad that the Gun Ammunition was carried on Bullocks, as tumbrels would not answer.

1779. *Jan. 8th.* Marched from Calcutta to Tarrapore.

9th. Crossed the Ganges at Pulta, and Encamp'd at Ghyrattah, where we halted several days. We had very bad boats to cross.

14th. Encamped at Nallycur, the road very bad over paddy fields, 15 miles.

15th. Denacolly. Road bad. 14 miles. *16th.* Halted. *17th.* Passed Selimabad, 12 miles 6 furlongs. *18th.* Near Burdwan, 14 miles 4 furlongs. Here we halted for several days, expecting to be supplied by the Chief and Council with Draft and Carriage, Cattle, &c., agreeable to the orders of the Board, but little attention was paid to the orders. Mr Marriot was Chief. *23rd.* Sundah. Banks of the Darmudah, 15 miles 6 furlongs. *24th.* Halted. Here Major Camac joined. *25th.* Between Chikseltool and Raganotpore villages on the banks of the Darmudah river, the Limber pin of one of the Gun Carriages broke. 15 miles 5 furlongs.

26th. Nudiah. Lost our road before daylight; the whole Country covered with jungles. 14 miles 2 furlongs. *27th.* Mudjeah. Crossed the Darmudah, a large lake close to the Camp, 19 miles. *28th.* Halted. *29th.* Phurtpore, $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. *30th.* Nallgurr, 12 miles. *31st.* Rugunatpore, Capital of the province of Pachet, 11 miles. *February* 1*st.* Parrah, $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles. *3rd.* 14 miles. *4th.* Juldah, 18 miles. Mr Hewet is stationed here from Burdwan, as Collector of the revenues of this little district. Here

we halted 3 days getting grain for the Detachment, as we were informed no grain was to be had till we reached Chuttiah Village in Chutta Nagpore, upwards of 60 miles. *8th.* Passed Jehak, a large village, and Jargawh. Hazambuntah, a large village with two Mud Forts, 16 miles 6 furlongs. This is a most beautiful valley between hills, well water, and full of grain. We now found we were imposed upon at Juldah, but it answered the purpose of Mr Hewet's Banian. This district is nominally in the Company's provinces, but pays no revenue, nor do they acknowledge the Company. This country is very little known; the people is always at war amongst themselves, one village destroying the other.

At Hazambuntah we found we were near the borders of Chutta Nagpore, which is surrounded with a range of mountains. There is two passes leading to this Country, neither of which was known but by name to Europeans. The Commanding Officer thought it necessary to examine both, and as we had two Surveyors with the Detachment, Lieuts. Rankin and Cameron, the latter was Surveyor to this Detachment, the former Surveyor of the Ramgurr District, and met us at Juldah. The Detachment was ordered to divide: Captain Crabb with the 13th Battn., the Drafts, and Magazine, to march through the Juno Pass; and I, with the 14th Battn. and Guns, to march through the Bundow Pass, and ordered to join at Chuttiah Village in the Nagpore country. Lieut. Rankin, Surveyor, march'd with my division through the Bundow Pass. Total miles from Ghyrattah to Hazambuntah, 223. *10th.* To Sunahattow, 11 miles 3 furlongs. *12th.* Idole Hattow, close to the entrance of the Bundow Pass, 10 miles 2 furlongs. *13th.* Timarrah Village in Chutta Nagpore. From the Entrance of the Pass to the top is 5 miles, in many places very steep and rocky, and very steep on each side of the road, and covered

with large trees and jungles so thick that you cannot see any distance. One Company of men with one Gun is very sufficient to defend this pass against any force whatever. From the top of the pass to the village of Timarrah the Descent is only one mile, which makes the flat of the Nagpore country five miles higher than the Tamar country, 6 miles 1½ furlongs. 14*th*. Chuttiah Village, where I found Captain Crabb with his division pitching his tents, 16 miles 1 furlong.

From Hazambunta to Chuttia through the Bundow Pass, 44 miles. Total miles from Ghyratta to Chuttiah through the Bundow Pass, 267 miles 7 furlongs.

1779. *February* 11*th*. Captain Crabb with his Division march'd towards the Juno Pass, and Lieut. Cameron, Surveyor, and encamped at Pakarsing. Passed through the Bullamgurra Pass, a mile long; very difficult for Guns; cross'd three Nullahs on this day's March, 8 miles 7 furlongs. 12*th*. Juno Village and Fort, 7 miles. 13*th*. Belwary in Chutta Nagpore, 9 miles. Chamgoty Pass (improperly called the Juno Pass). The Ascent easy for half a mile; some large Stones, which might be readily removed, the only impediment to Carriages. After the Ascent the road runs on the top of a hill so wide and Commodious that two Carriages may be drove abreast nearly the whole way. Descent easy into an Extensive plain, well cultivated and interspersed with variety of mango and other tops. Cross'd several nullahs in this March. 14*th*. Chuttia Village, 10 miles 2 furlongs. 17*th*. Cooly Bundra, a fine top and plenty of water, 16 miles 6 furlongs. 18*th*. Ghikochitty, 13 miles 2 furlongs. 19*th*. Bedhall, a large top, 9 miles 1 furlong. 20*th*. Corumbah, 8 miles 6 furlongs. Here we found Captain James Crawford with his Battalion of Light Infantry and some guns. He was ordered to join us and continue with the Detachment during our stay in Nagpore country, but as we did not want him, he

went with Mr Ramus to make the collection of the revenues, which must be done every season with an Armed force. Here we remained till the 20th March. The river Coil runs close to this place. *20th.* Marched to Guniah, 12 miles. *21st.* Baldamchitty, 8 miles 5 furlongs.

We were now within a few miles of the western Frontiers, and waiting for answers to letters sent to Col. Goddard, and letters from the Governor to the Rajah (or Bunsalah) of Great Nagpore. This Rajah of Great Nagpore is one of the most powerful rajahs of the Marratah Empire, and can bring Eighty thousand horse into the Field. He remained neutral and sided with neither party in this war between us and the Marratahs.

After some time received a letter from Col. Goddard informing us of the Disaster the Bombay Troops met with near Poonah, which obliged him to march towards Surat. He was at that time encamped on the Banks of the Narbudah. His orders was for us not to advance any further unless we had a very friendly invitation from the Great Nagpore Rajah, but the affair of the Bombayers staggered him a good deal, and we never received any answer to the letters sent him, which put a stop to our trip. From this place Mr Duncanson, who was going as Paymaster to Col. Goddard's Detachment, and Captain Clodd, who was appointed to the Command of one of the Battalions of that Detachment, returned back to Calcutta to go to Bombay by sea. Poor Duncanson went and was lost—ship and every soul on board—somewhere about the Malabar Coast.

From Ghyrattah to Chuttiah by the Bundow Pass . .	267 miles 7 furlongs
From Chuttiah to Baldamchitty	68 ,, 4 ,,
	336 ,, 3 ,,

FROM BALDANCHITTY TO CHITTRAH IN THE RAMGURR COUNTRY, AND FROM THENCE TO THE CANTONMENTS AT DINAPORE IN THE PROVINCE OF BAHARR. (APRIL TO JULY 1779.)

1779. *April 28th.* Marched back to Gunniah, 8 miles 5 furlongs. *29th.* Corumbah, 12 miles. *30th.* Halted and mustered.

May 2nd. Lowhardigah, 8 miles 6 furlongs. *May 3rd.* Tickow Village, 12 miles 2 furlongs. From this place the Detachment march'd in three divisions to Chittra on account of the bad road, Water being very scarce and ground for Encamping very seldom to be met with. Nothing but mountain passes and jungles. *13th.* Wodah Gung, 15 miles. Went down the Tickow Pass, which may be defended by very few men against any force. At Wodah Gung there is an old tank with very little water. I observed fish in the Tank, and ordered my servants to take some, but to my great surprise they hopped on dry land like frogs. On Examining them they have two feet like the hind feet of frogs about the center of the body, but in every other respects a fish. The country people call them Bing-ka-mitchie (or Frog fish). They eat them. I thought it so very extraordinary that I wrote Major Camac a particular account of it, and desired him to Examine them, which he and Captain Crabb did when they followed me the same road, and put several fish in spirits.

14th May. Barriatow, 11 miles 2 furlongs. *15th.* Dobrah, 11 miles. *16th.* Chittra, 14 miles. Here the Collector and the Light Infantry are stationed. *27th.* Marched through the Pass (which may be defended by a Company of men against any Army) down to the low Country to the village of Lusina, 12 miles 6 furlongs, which is famous for fine, mild,

white onions. *28th.* Amarot, 15 miles 1 furlong. *29th.* Boodgyah [Budh Gaya], where a fakier Prince [apparently the Mohant or Abbot] lives, 17 miles 3 furlongs. *30th.* Gyah Gardens. The town of Gyah is famous amongst the Hindoos as a place of worship, 6 miles 6 furlongs.

July 1st. Kedar Saray, 14 miles 1 furlong. *2nd.* Attah Saray, opposite to Islampore, 14 miles 5 furlongs. *3rd.* Hilsah, 15 miles 3½ furlongs. *4th.* Cross'd the Bridge of Futwah, and encamp'd close to Mr Revell's bungalow, 14 miles 5 furlongs. *5th.* Commanding Officer's house at Dinapore Cantonments, 21 miles. Marched through Patna and Bankipore. Miles from Chittra to Dinapore, 131 miles 5 furlongs. Miles from Baldanchitty to Chittra, 92 miles 7 furlongs. Total, 224 miles 4 furlongs. . . .

I was very happy to find myself in the low country again, for since the Detachment pass'd Burdwan I had a very bad state of health, frequently given over as past recovery.

In the Tamar, Nagpore, and Ramgurr country there is a race of people quite distinct from any other I ever saw in India. They are very black, the men low, well made; but the women are very little better than Monkeys. These people seem to have little or any Religion amongst them; they eat anything, but being under the Hindu Government are prohibited from killing beef; but they feed hogs and eat them. They are good Coolies, carry great loads, Bangy ways; but they will not leave the hilly country.

The distance marked in English miles may be depended upon, as it was measured by four perambulators belonging to the Detachment.

[He writes to his brother: "I had a wheel, Camac another, Captain Crabb and Lt. Cameron each a Europe perambulator, but the country wheels answer much better."]

March from Dinapore to Benares, to Ghazipore, and to Chunar. October to November 1779.

" After remaining at Dinapore some time, Captain Beatman with the drafts was ordered to march to Cawnpore to form part of a Detachment that was ordered to be formed to march to the Assistance of the Ranah of Goud, under the Command of Major William Popham. Major Camac went to Calcutta. The 13th and 14th Battns. at Dinapore received orders from the Commander in Chief to be in readiness to march on a Requisition from Mr Thomas Graham, Resident at Banaras.

1779. *October 5th.* Mr Graham requested us to march with all possible Expedition to Banaras, as Rajah Chit Sing refused to pay the money Demanded from him [a contribution demanded by the Governor-General towards the expenses of the wars with the Marathas and with Hyder Ali], and was making preparations for War.

7th. Marched to Bankipore Plain, 7 miles. *8th.* Phulwari, 9 miles. *10th.* Sydabad, 18 miles 3 furlongs. *11th.* About 2 miles past Arvell, 17 miles. *12th.* Between Daudnagurr and the River Soan, 22 miles 3 furlongs. *13th.* Crossed the Soan River, 3 miles. *14th.* Akowry, 12 miles; very bad road for the Guns, &c. *15th.* Through Sasseram to the west side of Sear Must-ka-Talaw, 14 miles 1 furlong. *16th.* Plain near Andar village, 18 miles 3 furlongs. *17th.* Crossed the Dargoti Nullah, 21 miles 5 furlongs. *18th.* Sayd Rajah, exceeding bad road between the Dargoty and Carmanasah Nullah, 12 miles 2 furlongs. *19th.* Doolipore, 17 miles 6 furlongs. To Rajgaut, east end of Banaras, 2 miles 2 furlongs. From Bankipore to Banaras, 168 miles 1 furlong.

We were now within two miles of the Rajah's house at Ramnagurr; and two days after, finding he did not pay, we moved within a mile of his house. He now found we were determined to make him comply or take his Country. He paid the five lack of rupees, the sum first demanded, and twenty thousand more for the expense of our March. He had all his troops collected in and about Ramnagurr. He sent all his women and Treasure to the Fort of Bigah Gurr in the Hills, and had horses and Elephants laid on the road all the way to the above Fort for himself to make his escape had we attacked Ramnagurr. He was still very uneasy while we remained so near him. We therefore cross'd the Ganges at Ragh Gaut, and encamped at Murwady, 6 miles.

November 16*th*. I received orders to march immediately with my Battalion towards Buxar to meet the Commander in Chief of all the troops in India, Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote. I crossed the river that night at Ragh Gaut. 17*th*. Encamped between Sokuldiah and Tajpore, 14 miles 2 furlongs. 18*th*. Mongie, 16 miles 5 furlongs. 19*th*. Karia, 16 miles 4 furlongs. 20*th*. Barra, about a mile above the mouth of the Carmanasah; here I crossed the Ganges. Waited upon the General with a return of my Battalion, and to receive his orders. He was on Board his Budgerow. 7 miles. From Murwady to Barra, 60 miles 3 furlongs. I was ordered to proceed to Gazipore, and there wait the arrival of the General, who proceeded by water to the above place. 21*st*. Encamp'd a little below the town of Gazipore, close to the banks of the river, 20 miles 5½ furlongs. 22*nd*. The General arrived, and pitched his tents in Maira-ka-Bagan above the town. 23*rd*. March'd a little past the Town, 2 miles, and in the afternoon moved again as the Carriage, &c., for the General's baggage was ready,

4 miles 4 furlongs. *24th.* Sydpore, to Mr Graham's Bungalow, 19 miles 2 furlongs. *25th.* Between Amra and Sundah, 16 miles 4 furlongs. The General, Lady Coote, and all the family Halted at a hunting seat belonging to the Rajah Chit Sing. *26th.* Arrived at Madadoss-ka-Bagagie, 9 miles, Mr Graham's quarters at Banaras, where we found Captain Crabb with his Battalion and Guns. Saluted the General, and I with my Battalion was ordered to the Camp at Murwady. From the Ghat at Barra to Murwady, 71 miles 7½ furlongs. *November 29th.* The Detachment was dissolved, and I was ordered to march to the Garrison of Chunargurr, and relieve Captain Davis's Battalion, who was ordered to march to Chandarnagore, the French Settlement above Calcutta. I was ordered to be relieved from this garrison on the Arrival of the second Brigade at Banaras by the Battalion first for Command.

Had I been done justice to, this was my proper Tour of Command, but I was sent with Major Camac in room of the 11th Battalion, which Major Camac objected to as not fit for going on such service, and by taking my proper tour of duty from me I lost very near five Thousand Pound Sterling, as will be seen in the sequel.

30th Nov. March'd and cross'd the Ganges at Chunargurr Fort, 14 miles 3 furlongs. *Dec. 1st.* Relieved the Guards at Chunargurr.

Chunargurr to Cawnpore. December 1779 to January 1780.

1779. *December 27th.* I was relieved by the 12th Battn. of Sepoys. *28th.* Crossed the Ganges. *29th.* Mustered. *30th.* Marched to Maharage-Gunge, 19 miles 2 furlongs. *31st.* Gousey. Here I joined the 2nd Brigade, 4 miles. *January 1st,* 1780. Near

Bariowd, 17 miles 1½ furlongs. *2nd.* Sydabad, 12 miles 6 furlongs. *3rd.* Injad-ka-Sarray, 9 miles 5 furlongs. *4th.* Popamow Gaut, 12 miles. *5th.* Cross'd the Ganges by the Bridge of boats, and Encamp'd at Muttah-Ram-ka-Tallow, 9 miles 4 furlongs. *6th.* The Brigade halted.

The 1st Brigade was encamped here, when they were reviewed by the Commander in Chief.

[John Macpherson in his draft Journal notes that he himself on 4th January " sett off at ½ past 9 at night by laid bearers to Banaras " (to see his brother Captain Allan Macpherson). "We arrived there before supper on the 5th, sett off for Allahabad at 4 in the afternoon of the 6th, and arrived at the 1st Brigade Camp at 3 in the afternoon on the 7th."]

7th. Allumchund, 17 miles. *8th.* Shawzadpore, 14 miles. *9th.* Surifabad, 7 miles 4 furlongs. [John Macpherson rejoins the 2nd Brigade about a coss past Karra.] *10th.* East side Hautgong, 16 miles 1½ furlongs. *11th.* West side of Belindah, 17 miles 6 furlongs. *12th.* East side of Kuarpore, 13 miles ½ furlong. *13th.* East side of Cudgwah, 10 miles 6 furlongs. From Cudgwah to Betour is 4 miles; Kindauly, 17 miles; the Top in the rear of the Bazar at Cawnpore Cantonments, 13 miles ½ furlong. *14th.* The Brigade turned off the road at Cudgwah, and marched to Corah Jehanabad, where we halted till the 8th or 9th of February, and then marched to Cawnpore Cantonments, 26 miles. Total miles from Murwady to Cawnpore Cantonments, 229 miles 6½ furlongs.

Captain John Macpherson's failing health. He is anxious to go to Europe.

[On 6th January 1780 John Macpherson writes from camp to his brother Allan, whom he had just visited at Benares.

Allan was at that time thinking of going to Europe. John is in bad health and in depressed spirits.

"Arrived here very much fatigued in body and mind. I am distressed beyond expression. I cannot bear the thought of our parting—I am afraid, for ever. Something tells me we shall never meet again. Your poor Munshey has been with me. I could not look nor speak to him. He saw my distress, and went away. This is childish, you say. I know it, yet cannot help it. I am now without a friend indeed. I never thought of want of relations till now. Could I go home with you, it's the only thing in the world I wish. If what I have was home I could live on £50 a year happy at being near you. The world cannot make me happy anywhere else."

He writes again from Lucknow on 15th April 1780, after Allan has given up his intentions of retiring, telling him that he is advised by the surgeons to go home at once. On 18th May he writes from Cawnpore expressing the hope that his Brigade may be returning "into the Provinces" [that is, the Company's Provinces]. "Sooner than return to this place again," he says, "I would live on bread and brochan." On 9th July he writes again from Cawnpore. He has seen General Sir Eyre Coote, who, he hopes, may help him. On 4th November he writes from Benares that he is on his way to Calcutta to take his passage. He has had swelling of his legs, and Dr James Campbell declares that he has every appearance of a "confirmed dropsy." On 19th or 20th December he writes from Calcutta that he has taken his passage on a Portuguese ship, paying 2500 rupees therefor and 400 rupees more for the passage of a Portuguese servant, whom he requires in his state of ill-health. On 29th December, however, he writes that he is determined to remain till he and Allan can go together. His health is better. The General (apparently General Stibbert, as Sir Eyre Coote had left for Madras on 14th October) had been exceedingly kind to him, and had spoken to Mr Hastings about him. "Mr Hastings was pleased to say that he was very much pleased with my candid behaviour and delicacy relative to the oath." The oath was a declaration required by the rules in force at the time for grant of a Major's pension, that savings did not exceed a certain sum. John had saved about Rs. 50,000 when he retired.

His commission as a Major is signed by Warren Hastings and Edward Wheler on 22nd of January 1781, and has effect from 1st May 1781.

In February 1781 he writes from Dinapore: "I wish, my dear Allan, the hot season was over and the war over with them that we might go and visit some of those cold hills [he means the hills of Badenoch], but believe me, my dear Allan, I cannot go without you, for what satisfaction can I have in a country that I call home and yet a greater stranger there than I am here, and without a friend to speak to? You know that we are all that's left of the family, and all the other friends that we might be acquainted with are scattered all over the face of the earth. Whenever you are ready to go home I am, and shall be satisfied on whatever I have to live on. . . . My ideas regarding fortune are quite altered since my last illness, and I know the whole is vanity."

He writes to his cousin, James Macpherson, M.P., that Mr Hastings will do nothing for James's friends. He had applied for the pension of a Major, "but the Board say that he has more money than the requirements for a Major's pension allow." He has Rs. 52,000.]

Incursion of Raja Fateh Sahi of Husaipur (or Hathwa) into Saran, 1781.

[While commanding the troops at Dinapore in February 1781, Major John Macpherson received from Mr Charles Graeme, Collector of the Saran District, on the other side of the Ganges, an urgent appeal for military assistance to repel an incursion made by the rebel Raja Fateh Sahi of Husaipore (now Hathwa).[1]

[1] In his Settlement Report on the Saran District (1903), Mr John Kerr of the Indian Civil Service (now Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I.) has briefly given the story of Raja Fateh Sahi as follows:—

"In 1765 Fateh Sahi, Raja of Hathwa, or, as it was then called, Husaipur, refused to acknowledge the East India Company, or to pay revenue to it. Troops were sent against him and his territory was seized, but the Raja established himself in the large forest between Saran and Gorakhpur, whence he defied all attempts to capture him, and made frequent inroads into British territory. His estate was let out to farmers, but he managed to frustrate their

The prompt action taken by Major John Macpherson on the call made upon him by the civil authority may be here related as given in his own letters, in evidence of initiative on the part of a regimental officer in those days. On 8th February 1781 he writes to Brig.-General Giles Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, who was at the time at Fort William, more than three hundred miles away, as follows :—

"Last night I received a letter from Choprah informing me that since the 32nd Regt. left Baggah, Futty Saw had destroyed the whole of the Hosseypore district, and that it is reported he means to visit Choprah. From the above I apprehend an application will soon be made from that quarter for troops from this station ; I therefore request your instructions on this head in case such an application should be made."

On 10th of February he writes again to the Commander-in-Chief :—

"The 8th instant I did myself the honour to write you an account of the information I received about Futty Saw having entered the Housseypore district, and this morning I received a letter from Mr Charles Graeme, Collector of that district, demanding assistance. . . . I have taken it upon me to order the 1st Battalion of the 8th Regiment with the two three-pounders that arrived with the 32nd Regiment to march to Barragong for the protection of the district until I receive your further instructions on this head. The distance is so very short that it made me less scrupulous in sending the above detachment, which it can join in a few days in case it is found necessary. I therefore hope my conduct will meet with your approbation." He writes to his brother Allan on this matter on the 19th February 1781 : "I do

attempts to collect the revenue, and is strongly suspected of having taken part in an affray in which one of them was killed about 1772. The Collector finding it impossible to realise anything recommended that the Raja should be pardoned, and given an allowance on promising to live quietly at Husaipur. This promise the Raja readily gave and as readily broke. He again took the field against the combined forces of the Company and the Nawab of Oudh, and a series of outrages culminated in 1775 in the murder of his own cousin, Basan Sahi. Government then declared his property forfeit, and in 1790 recognised Chatardhari Sahi, the infant grandson of the murdered Basan Sahi, as the owner of the estate."

not know how the General will like it, but the distance is so small that they can join in 5 days again if necessary. I did not know how I could be answerable for letting the country be plundered under my nose and having 2000 men idle here."

His instructions to Lieutenant John Hutchinson, whom he sends in charge of the detachment, is as follows :—

"You are to march from hence with the Detachment under your command to Barragong in the Hosseypore district, and after your Arrival there you are to take every necessary step for the protection of that district, but upon no Account, not (*sic*) to detach in small partys, as the strength of your detachment will not admit of it, and, on the other hand, you must be ready to join whenever you may be ordered without delay. You are to proceed to the above Station with all possible Expedition, and you are likewise to give me a particular account of all your transactions from time to time that I may inform the Commander in Chief therewith. You are to correspond with Mr Charles Graeme, Collector of that district."

The orders of the Commander-in-Chief approving the action taken do not reach Dinapore till the 26th February. Meanwhile Lieutenant Hutchinson, who was as prompt as his Commanding Officer, had reported from Housseypore on the 18th February as follows :—

" . . . On the morning of the 17th, at 4 o'clock, I marched the Battalion to the pass where the Enemy lay, but as he has excellent intelligence he fled at our approach. He is now 6 coass off out of the Hosseypore district. Its raining yesterday and all last night prevented my going after him. However, the country is now quiet. I can't pass over the Cunning of the fellow: he had actually an Army of Fuckeers and others that were to have joined him to cut off the Foudgedaree, &c., at Barragong. He had, as on a former occasion, promised them 4 annas per day and plunder. From the best intelligence he would have had in 3 days more 7 or 8 thousand men, which would have effectually enabled him to have plundered the Country and carried off the richest Zamindars and Farmers. I shall make another push for him to-morrow, which will make the body now with them disperse. They consist of about 1500 men. We did not give him time to complete his

work, being resolved not to make a halt between Dinapore and him."

This correspondence is followed by an order from the Board at Fort William, dated 27th February 1781, as follows :—

"We have received your letter of the 21st inst., and have in consequence issued orders to the Collector of Sircar Sarun to cause publick notice to be given that the sum of twenty thousand rupees will be granted as a reward to any person or persons who shall secure and deliver over Futty Saw to the officer commanding the Detachment of the 8th Regt. of Sepoys now on service in Barragong. . . . We have already made application to the Nabob [of Oudh] to remove Futty Saw from his districts and from the possession of any lands which he may hold in them, and request him to send his instructions to Lt. Col. Hannay to that effect.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.
EDWARD WHELER."

On 17th March Lieutenant Hutchinson reports that he has dispersed the rebels and taken 215 matchlocks, which he has broken up, and a larger number of swords and pikes.

Fateh Sahi was never captured, and died a religious mendicant.]

Journal resumed in April 1781.

"1781. Ever since I was taken ill at Burdwan when marching towards the western Frontiers I never recovered my health properly, being constantly harassed and marching all the seasons of the year. I was at Corah taken very ill, and the beginning of April went to Lucknow on the Invitation of my good friend Mr Kenneth Murchison, hoping the change of air would be of service to me, but found no advantage from it. My Complaint had the Appearance of the Dropsy, and at the same time I had the liver, and so much relaxed that every Surgeon in the Country refused to give any medicine, and advised me to go to sea immediately. In this situation I continued till the 22nd of October,

when I left Cawnpore, and went to Calcutta with a Determined resolution to return to Europe, but met with so many obstacles that, after having taken my passage on Board of a Portuguese ship and paid for it, I could not go. The Captain returned all my passage money, which was doing more than most of our English Captains would do.

[In a letter to his brother he writes: "The Captain is a very worthy man and much esteemed by every person that knows him. I bought a diamond pin for his breast (450 sic. Rs.), which, with great difficulty, I got him to accept."]

The 6th of November my Battalion marched from Cawnpore towards Banaras, as Rajah Chit Sing refused to pay the five lack of rupees which he was ordered; but when he found a force coming against him he paid the cash, and my Battalion marched down to Dinapore Cantonments, where I joined it again (now made the 8th Regt. of Sepoys, formerly the 14th Battalion) on the 29th of January 1781.

There I was in hopes of remaining quiet till the Brigade returned into the Provinces. I was still exceedingly ill, and as I was determined to return to Europe by the first opportunity that offered, I applied to be exchanged from the 2nd Brigade to the 1st Brigade that was stationed at Calcutta, in order to prepare everything for the voyage; but this trifling favour I could not obtain, though my life was at stake, and the 13th of April received orders to march all the way back to Cawnpore again in the height of the hot weather. They that are bound are obliged to obey, but God knows the situation I was in and how unfit to undertake such a trip.

When I received the orders of march, one Battalion of my Regiment was in the Sircar Sarang District,

where I was obliged to send them with two Guns to oppose Futty Saw, who was plundering the whole Country.

March from Dinapore to Fatehgarh, April to June 1781; and to Cawnpore and Lucknow, September to October 1781.

1781. *April* 18*th*. I march'd from Dinapore, and arrived at Murwady the 6th of May, where I waited till the Battalion from the Sircar Sarang Country joined me, and while I waited here I received orders to march to Futty Gurr, and put myself under the command of Colonel Sir John Cummings, instead of joining the 2nd Brigade as first ordered. This was sending [me] near one hundred miles higher up than Cawnpore. I shall now march from that place:—

	Miles.	Furlongs.
From Cawnpore to Moudanah . .	11	1½
Nowaddah	13	4
Gurdhara	13	½
Mukarnagurr	15	
Bheramabad	13	
Cumal Gunge	12	4
Futty Gurr Cantonments . . .	8	
From Cawnpore to Futty Gurr .	86	2

The 11th of June I arrived at Futty Gurr, in very bad health, the weather extremely hot, and not a Bungloe to go into. At last I was able to purchase one (for 2000 S. [? F.] Rupees, or Two hundred and ten pounds sterling).

Disaffection of Raja Chet Sing and Perilous Position of Warren Hastings at Benares, August 1781.

I now thought I must be settled for some months at least, but I was mistaken, for the 26th of August we received the account of the disaffection of Rajah Chit Sing at Banaras and the Danger the Governor General was in of being cut off with all his attendance. By some unfortunate neglect the two Companys of Sepoys ordered as Guard over the Rajah was unprovided with any Ammunition. His attendance soon found this out, and they were overpowered by numbers, and very few of the two Companys was able to make their Escape. The men behaved with the Greatest Bravery till the three European officers that were with them was cut to pieces. The officers were Lt. Archibald Scott, my old Subaltern, a very good officer and a worthy young fellow, Lieut. Stalker, and Lieut. Symes—all very good officers, and a loss to the Service at this time, when we were at War with all the world, for all the powers in the East were at War with us, or ready to fall upon us the first opportunity that offered.

Distribution of Troops in August 1781.

To give a just idea of our present situation I must look back a little and point out the Several Stations our Troops were at this time. I before mentioned a Detachment under the command of Major Popham, sent to the Assistance of the Ranah, or Rajah, of Goud. After he had taken several Forts, and amongst the number the Fort of Gwalier, the most surprising of any event upon record, he (Major Popham) was recalled, and the Command given to Major Camac, with an addition of 4 Bat-

talions of Sepoys, fifty European Artillery, a number of Guns, &c., &c., and a Company of Frenchmen, which we took into our service after the taking of Pondichery. When the new regulations took place the 1st of January, Major Camac's Detachment consisted of 5 Regiments of Sepoys, The French Company, Fifty European Artillery, and Two hundred and fifty Cavalry. With this Detachment he was ordered to the Frontiers of the Maratah Country, and if possible to take possession of Ugein, the Capital of Sindiah, one of the principal Maratah Chiefs and the best General of the Empire. At this time he was with the Grand Army near Poonah against General Goddard, but finding his own territories going to be invaded he return'd with his Troops and surrounded Major Camac before he had any intelligence of his return. In this distressed Situation he wrote to Lt. Col. Granger Muir, Commanding at Futty Gurr, to march with all possible expedition to his relief.

On receiving this letter Col. Muir marched with three Regiments of Sepoys, two Regiments of Cavalry, Artillery, &c., but before he reached Major Camac, he (Major Camac) attacked Sindiah in the night, took his guns, a number of Elephants, Camels, Stores, &c., &c.; but Col. Muir, marching, lost Major Camac the command, and he left the Detachment in disgust. The Governor General and Council accuse Major Camac of having delayed in not marching directly to Eugein; and he says his orders from them was not to advance. Certain it is a great deal of time was lost; he might have been at Eugein long before Sindiah returned had he advanced at first. Where the blame lies I cannot take it upon me to Determine.

When Col. Muir took the command of the Detachment he drafted men from the three regiments that marched with him from Futty Gurr to Complete the former detachment to its original strength, five

thousand men; and the rest, with one Regiment of Cavalry and the Artillery that marched from Futty Gurr, returned to that station again, but the three Regiments on their arrival at Futty Gurr was only 1100 men strong. I was Commanding Officer of Sepoys at that Station when they returned, so there can be no mistake in their strength, as I received Returns from each Regiment. The Troops was stationed as follows when Rajah Chit Sing's disaffection appeared :—

With Col. G. Muir on the Frontiers of the Marratah Country—

3rd Regiment of Cavalry—Major Eyers and Captain Fairfax.
3rd Regiment Sepoys—Major Thomas Adderly.
5th Regiment Sepoys—Major Gabriel Johnstone.
31st Regiment Sepoys—Major James Browne.
33rd Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. Clode.
34th Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. MacClarey.

This Detachment was upwards of three hundred miles from Futty Gurr, which was the nearest station to it, and away from the banks of the Ganges.

At Daranagurr, more than two hundred miles above Futty Gurr, on the banks of the Ganges :—

9th Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. Cook.
10th Regiment Sepoys—Major Horton Briscow—he commanded.

At Futty Gurr, under the command of Sir John Cumings, 86 miles above Cawnpore, on the banks of the Ganges :—

2nd Regiment of Cavalry—Captain James Law.
8th Regiment of Sepoys—Major J. Macpherson (complete).
11th Regiment of Sepoys—Major Henry Wray (373).
21st Regiment of Sepoys—Major Edward Rawstorne (Grenadiers wanting).

22nd Regiment of Sepoys—Major John Landige (373).
23rd Regiment of Sepoys—Major Thomas Naylor (375).

At Cawnpore and Colpee, under the command of Col. James Morgan, 229 miles 6 furlongs above Banaras:—

2nd Regiment of Europeans.
1½ Companys of Artillery.
7th Regiment Sepoys—Major J. W. Crabb.
18th Regiment Sepoys—Major Robert Stewart.
19th Regiment Sepoys—Major Arthur Balfour.
20th Regiment Sepoys—Major Martin Gilpine.
29th Regiment Sepoys—Major John Lumsdaine.
30th Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. Roberts.

In the Fort of Chunâr Gurr, 14 miles above Banaras, some Invalids, Europeans, and Natives.

6th Regiment of Sepoys—Major John White.
Col. Wm. Blair commanded the Fort.
35th Regiment—Major William Popham. One Battalion at Mirzapore, 20 miles above Chunar Gurr, and the other Battalion at Banaras attending the Governor General.
120 Frenchmen—Captain Doxott.

At Buxar, 70 miles below Banaras, on the Banks of the Ganges:—

500 Light Infantry—Major Eaton.

At Barragong, Sarcar Sarung District, one Battalion of the 28th Regiment.

At Dinapore Cantonments—Col. Arthur Achmuty.

One Battalion 28th Regiment—Major Moses Crawford.
36th Regiment, all Recruits without arms—Major J. Fullarton.

1200 Militia at Patna—Major Alexr. Hardy.
300 Militia at Bagulpore—Lieut. Wilson.
One Regiment Light Infantry at Chittra, 114 miles inland from Patna—Captain James Crawford.
1200 Militia at Muradbaug or Murshadabad—Major Robertson.

At Berhampore, Col. G. Ironside Commanding :—

3rd Regiment of Europeans.
14th Regiment Sepoys—Major Chas. Ironside.
32nd Regiment Sepoys—Major Richard Lucas.

At Fort William, &c., &c.—General G. Stibbert.

European Artillery—Col. P. Duff.
½ the 1st Regiment European Infantry—Col. S. Hampton.
4th Regiment Sepoys—Major J. Forbes, but commanded by Captain Bailie.
15th Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. Duncan.
16th Regiment Sepoys—Major Wm. Jones.
17th Regiment Sepoys—Major Chas. Ware.
27th Regiment Sepoys—Major S. H. Showers.
2nd Regiment Sepoys—Major Thos. Briton, Chandarnagore.
1st Regiment Sepoys—Major Allan Macpherson, Midnapore province.
One Regiment Light Infantry, Chittagonge—Major Ed. Elikere.
1200 Militia, Dacca—Captain Dodds.
1 Battalion Militia, Calcutta—Captain Green.
500 Militia, Burdwan—Captain Danl. Macgrigor.

Marching to Madrass with Col. Pearce :—

24th Regiment Sepoys—Major Saml. Kilpatrick.
25th Regiment Sepoys—Major John Wedderburn.
26th Regiment Sepoys—Major John Burn.
12th Regiment Sepoys—Major John Edmonson.
13th Regiment Sepoys—Major Robert Blane.
And a fine train of Artillery.

With General Goddard on the Malabar Coast, the First Regiment of Cavalry, Six Battalions of Sepoys on the old Establishment, and a very fine Train of Artillery.
500 Militia, Purneah—Captain Williams.

Thus you see the particular Station of all the Troops on the Bengal Establishment. And besides this there was—

1200 men as a Bodyguard to the Rajah of Burdwan—Captain Long. Paid and clothed by the Rajah. . . .
500 Men Bodyguard to the Nabob of Bengall and some Cavalry—Hon. Lt. Anstruther.
1200 Men Bodyguard to the Nabob at Lucknow—Captain Plowden.
2 Battalions, a Body of Cavalry, Burgundasses,[1] and a good Train of Artillery, Nabob's Troops—Commanded by Col. Alexr. Hannay and several European Officers in the country behind Lucknow and Fyzabad.
One Battalion Sepoys, Nabob's Troops at Barrelie, Rohilla Country—Lieut. Laurance Gall.

As soon as Mr Hastings was informed of the Rajah's Escape and the two Companys of Sepoys being cut off, he made the best of his way to Chunar Gurr Fort as the only place of safety. Chett Sing stopped all communication. No intelligence could be received up or down the Country. The Dauk Harcarrahs were cutt off, and every person that was suspected of being anyways connected with the English. So much enraged was the whole Country against us that the women and children fell upon the poor Dandies [boatmen] belonging to the Boats and Budgerows that belonged to the Governor and

[1] Barkandaz—armed retainers, lit. lightning-throwers.—Hobson Jobson.

his Attendants, though the same religion and Caste with themselves, their being serving the Feringies (or Franks) was enough to condemn them.

The 4th of September 1781, Col. Sir J. Cumings received orders from the Governor to march immediately with all the Troops under his Command to Cawnpore. Col. James Morgan at the same time received orders to march with all possible Expedition to Allahabad. This order we received at Futty Gurr at 12 oclock the 4th September, and marched at three oclock in the Morning of the 5th Septr., with one Regiment of Cavalry, Three Regts. of Sepoys, and Eight Field pieces, 6-pounders, &c. But judge of our situation, we could only muster 15 rounds of ball ammunition for each man, but we put on the best face we could upon things, and off we marched. On our arrival at Cawnpore, Captain James Law with the Cavalry joined Col. Morgan, and marched with him. Major Edward Rawstorne with the 21st Regt. and two Guns was ordered to Colpee Gaut on the banks of the Jumna. Major Naylor with the remains of his Regiment and my Regiment remained at Cawnpore with Col. Sir John Cumings. Here we were in a pretty situation, the whole country round ready to attack us. They only wanted a head to lead them on. Boats bringing provisions to Cantonments was stopped and plundered by the Country people, and we were very few in number, without ammunition or stores, our Train of Artillery almost unfit for service, and likeways without money to pay our Troops.

The Nabob, on hearing of the Dangerous situation that Mr Hastings was in, marched from Lucknow, and carried all the Troops in and about the place with him, by doing of which the City was left at the mercy of the rabble.

There was a Body of Eight thousand Men in Arms assembled within a few coss of the place ready to plunder it. On receiving this information

Major Naylor, with his Regiment and two Guns, went by forced marches to Lucknow, and arrived just time enough to save it from destruction. There was now only my Regiment at Cawnpore, and I was ordered to march with one Battalion and two Guns to Lucknow. My orders was to march to Lucknow and take Major Naylor and his Regiment under my Command, and that I was to protect the place and obey such orders as I might receive from Mr N. Middleton, Resident at the Vizier's Court. As Major Naylor was there and everything seemed quiet, I intended to take three days to reach Lucknow, and the first morning after crossing the Ganges at Cawnpore marched only twenty miles and Encamped. By the time I was two hours on my ground I received an express from Mr J. Middleton, Assistant to the Resident (he having marched with the Nabob), informing me that he was under the necessity of ordering Major Naylor to march towards Kayrabad, and requested I would proceed with all expedition to Lucknow, and in two hours after I received the following :—

"LUCKNOW, *October 2nd*, 1781. 5 o'clock A.M.

To Major John Macpherson. Sir,—I did myself the pleasure of addressing you a few hours ago by an Express, acquainting you of my being necessitated to send Major Naylor on Service immediately and requesting of you to proceed to this place with all possible expedition. Major Naylor has just crossed the Goampty on his march towards Kayrabad. I am therefore to entreat that you will come on by forced marches, and if practicable arrive on the Skirts of the Town this evening.

If you will honour me with a line on your approach I will send people to conduct you to a spot fit for the Encamping of your Regiment.—I have the Honor to be, &c., (Signed) J. C. MIDDLETON."

When I received this last I was preparing to march. I had already marched twenty miles in the morning, and I had thirty-two miles more to march to Lucknow. There was a necessity of my reaching the place that night to save it a second time from ruin. So off I marched, and arrived at the Cantonments of the Nabob's Body-guard early in the morning of the third October, after marching fifty-two miles, very much fatigued, and [in] very bad health.

During my march to Lucknow I was insulted by every village I pass'd, but my object was getting to Lucknow to save that, and afterwards take revenge on those fellows.

About 10th of October the 2nd Battalion of my Regiment, Captain Neil Stewart, arrived from Cawnpore, and they were treated in the same manner on their march as I was; nay, the Followers of the Camp were plundered, and my Butcher had all the Sheep and Goats belonging to me taken from him, and at Lucknow my men were insulted by every dirty fellow in the place. I could not get any straw or grass for the Company's Draft and Carriage Cattle without fighting for it.

Mr N. Middleton was now returned. I represented to him by letter the situation I was in, and that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to such proceedings, for by letting it go on so long it only emboldened them the more; that I had force enough to bring them to order, and that it was high time to convince them of it. For, although I came to save the place from destruction, the Country people took it in their heads that I came for protection from the Nabob.

In reply, Mr Middleton sent me the following:—

"To Major John Macpherson, Commanding the

8th Regt. of Sepoys on Duty with the Resident at Lucknow—

"Sir,—I am just now honoured with the receipt of your letter of this date, and am extremely concerned to hear of the insolent and daring behaviour of the Villagers of Eidgong, which but too strongly marks that spirit of Disaffection and Licentiousness which has for some time been apparent among the subjects of the Vizier's Government, and calls loudly for exemplary punishment. I have no doubt but that the Nabob upon my representations would be disposed to take every proper notice of such an instance of misconduct in his people, and to resent it with severity; but as the preferring a Complaint to him before the offenders are detected and secured might give them such a previous notice of my design as to enable them by flight to elude it, and by that means defeat the real and most necessary purpose, which is that of inflicting such punishment upon them as may serve as an example to deter others from the commission of similar offences, I have therefore to request you will be pleased to send a Company, or such a force as you judge adequate to the Service, to Seize and bring to me the principal men of Eidgong who may have been concerned in this outrage on your people, and it shall be my care that their offences do not go unpunished.

I beg leave to recommend such Caution in the mode of seizing these men as may prevent as much as possible any disagreeable or fatal consequences from it, but in case of resistance you are to repel force by force, and use every means in your power to effect the object in view.—I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.,

(Signed) Nathle. Middleton,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow, 11*th October* 1781."

On receiving the above I ordered two Companys of Sepoys under the command of Lieut. John Duff to be in readiness to march without any noise. They marched so as to get to Eidgong about twelve oclock at night. I sent guides and people to point out the offenders; accordingly the 12th in the morning the party returned with six prisoners, the head men of the place, and all the cattle my people had been plundered of. I had the six severely flogged in front of my Regiment, and then sent them to Mr Middleton. They were again flogged through every street in Lucknow, and afterwards the Nabob's people (by his orders) cut off their ears. The good effects of this was felt immediately, for after that a Child from my Camp might go unmolested to any part of the Country.

Soon after this the Rajah Chit Sing fled his Country, and everything returned to its former state of tranquility. Here is a most Extraordinary revolution. Rajah Chit Sing's country is the finest, the best cultivated, and the best peopled of any part of Hindostan. He was tributary to the Company. He paid twenty-two Lack of rupees a year, and since the commencement of the war with France he was ordered to pay five Lack more each year, but only during the war. His Country is about twenty crore of rupees a year. When he made his escape after cutting off the party of Sepoys, he wrote letters to all the Nabobs, Rajahs, &c., &c., in every quarter of Hindostan, informing them that Mr Hastings had demanded a crore of rupees to be paid immediately and to deliver up the Fort of Bejagurr, and because he could not comply he was treated like a Common Coolie and Confined. Those about Mr Hastings deny this, but say he was confined on account of information received by the Governor of his corresponding with the Marratahs and inviting them to invade his Country, and that

he would join them against us. I cannot say which of the stories is the truest; but certain it is that there was no money in our Treasury, and that every method was tried to get money to very little purpose. It is likeways as certain that Chit Sing's Country was well guarded from any alarm, his Country was quite clear from our troops, and that we did not interfere with him in any respect, and that he should wantonly take such a step which he knew must end in his ruin is not easily to be accounted for. Had the Marratahs come into his country they would strip him of everything; and he knew well, on the other hand, that he had no lenity to expect from us.

This was the most serious affair that ever happened in Bengal. Had the Rajah kept his army together twenty days longer we should have found it no easy matter to save ourselves, for all the Troops above Banaras was without money, Stores, or Ammunition. At Chunargurr a fleet of boats very luckily arrived with Stores, Ammunition, Guns, Carriages, &c., a few days before this disturbance broke out. Before that supply they had no stores of any kind at Chunargurr. The people from all quarters of the Country were collecting to the Rajah's Standard.

The Begam at Fyzabad was doing all in her power to distress us, and by all account bribed the Troops under the command of Col. Alexr. Hannay, for several parties of them threw down their Arms when attacked by a very inferior force and ran away, leaving the European Officers to themselves; and Col. Hannay himself, though he had a force superior to anything that could be brought against him, was obliged to take post, and wrote in a very pressing manner to Mr Middleton to Lucknow for Assistance, telling him that if he had not some assistance very soon, he expected to be cut off.

It was to Relieve him that Major Naylor was ordered by Mr Middleton to march. This I had from Mr Middleton several times.

Breakdown of Major John Macpherson's Health. His Application to the Governor-General, November 1781.

1781. *November 2nd.* Matters being now quite settled, I left my Regiment at Lucknow, being still in a very bad state of health, with a determined resolution to return to Europe the first opportunity unless I could get fixed in some place for another year, for it was impossible for me to keep in the field, and wrote Mr Hastings the following letter :—

"Camp at Lucknow, *7th October* 1781.

"Sir,—Though I have often been informed by my friend and relation, Mr James Macpherson of London, that he has recommended me to your notice, I have always been loath to trouble you with applications.

Since my arrival at Lucknow, Where I now am with two guns and the 1st Battn. of my Regiment, Mr Middleton informs me that it is your intention to have a regiment always at Lucknow. If so, Sir, may I request you will nominate my Regiment for this Station. Your order to Cols. Morgan and Sir John Cummings will fix me here, and a letter to Mr Middleton will secure my interest. You are no Stranger to my very bad state of health, and my Circumstances in other respects. I hope therefore that you will pardon me for troubling you with this address, and honor me with an Answer.—I have the Honor, &c.,

J. Macpherson."

To Warren Hastings, Esq., at Chunargurr.

When I left Lucknow I [had] received no answer to the above. I waited on Mr Hastings on my arrival at Chunargurr, and asked him if he received my letter of such a date. He replied he did not recollect, and desired to know the purport of it. I informed him that I wished to stay another year in the Country, provided he would fix me and Regiment for that time in any particular station, and, as the whole of my regiment was now at Lucknow, begged he would fix me there. He told me it could not be done. I said I was sorry for it, that it was not in my power to remain in the field any longer, and must return to Europe for the recovery of my health. I proceeded to Calcutta to prepare myself for my voyage to Europe.

(Journal ends.)

[He writes to his brother Allan from Buxar on 20th November on his way down to Calcutta, and congratulates him on his engagement to be married. This engagement and Allan's appointment to the Quartermaster-Generalship put an end to the brothers' plans of going home together.

On arrival in Calcutta, Major John Macpherson was treated with sympathy by the Board, who recorded the following Resolution about his services:—

"Extract Consultation, 24th December 1781.

"The Board cannot help regretting that after 22 years' service in India, eighteen whereof were in the Company's Army and six of them in a Sepoy Command, Major John Macpherson has been reduced to the necessity of making the above Application. These circumstances, however, mark him as a man of most honorable principle, and confirm the favourable reports they have received of him.

"The Board, therefore, sensible of his merits, and in testimony of their fullest approbation of his conduct during his long and faithful services, give their Acquiescence to his request, and it is therefore agreed that Major John Macpherson be promoted to the rank of Lt. Colonel by Brevet,

to rank in the Infantry and the Army from this day, on condition that he immediately resign the Service to avail himself of the pension, and that no Officer senior to him on this Establishment be ever superseded, or affected in his right, by this indulgence.

"(Signed) J. D. AURIOL, *Secretary*."

Lieut.-Colonel John Macpherson engaged his passage in *The Lively*, Captain Mackintosh, paying 3500 rupees passage-money; but the departure of *The Lively* was long delayed, and he at last sailed in the ship *Valentine* at the beginning of April 1782. Mrs Eliza Fay was among his fellow-passengers. As is told in Chapter I., he married in 1783. His health was broken by his long service, and he died in Edinburgh in August 1784.

Among the letters received by his brother, Colonel Allan Macpherson, expressing sympathy and appreciation of Lieut.-Colonel John's character, is one from their friend, Lieut.-Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray, who five years later married Colonel John's widow.

Colonel Murray writes from Fort Marlborough (in Sumatra) on 6th August 1785 as follows :—

"My sympathy is not occasioned solely by the idea I have of the affliction you have suffered. Honest John was really dear to myself. I esteemed him as a friend, and respected him as a man of strict honour."

With this appreciation by a brother officer of a soldier of "strict honour," who spent twenty-two years in marching and counter-marching on the plains of India a century and a half ago, these memoirs may conclude.]

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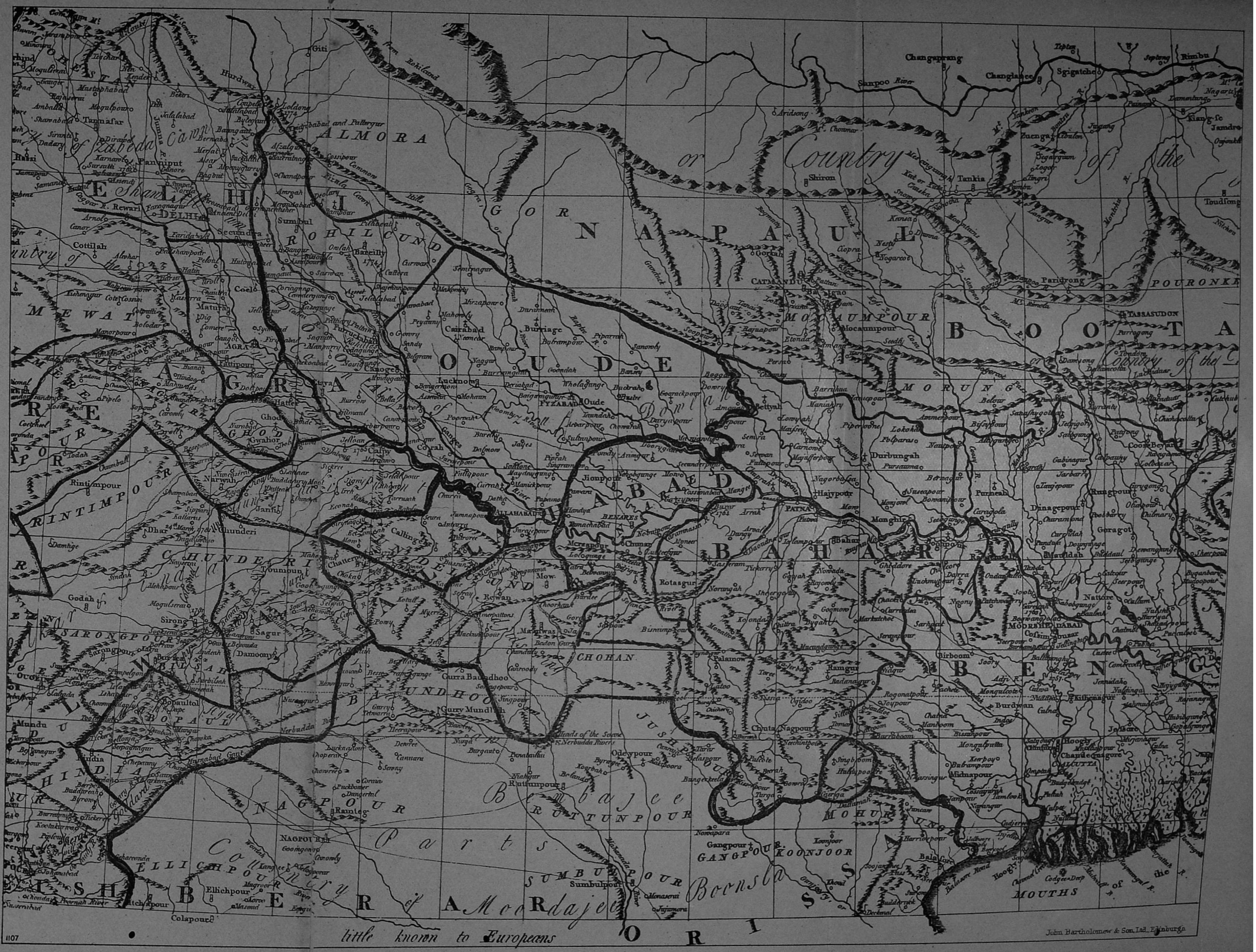

MAP OF A PORTION OF NORTHERN INDIA.

(Reproduced from James Rennell's Map of Hindostan, 1782 edition).

80
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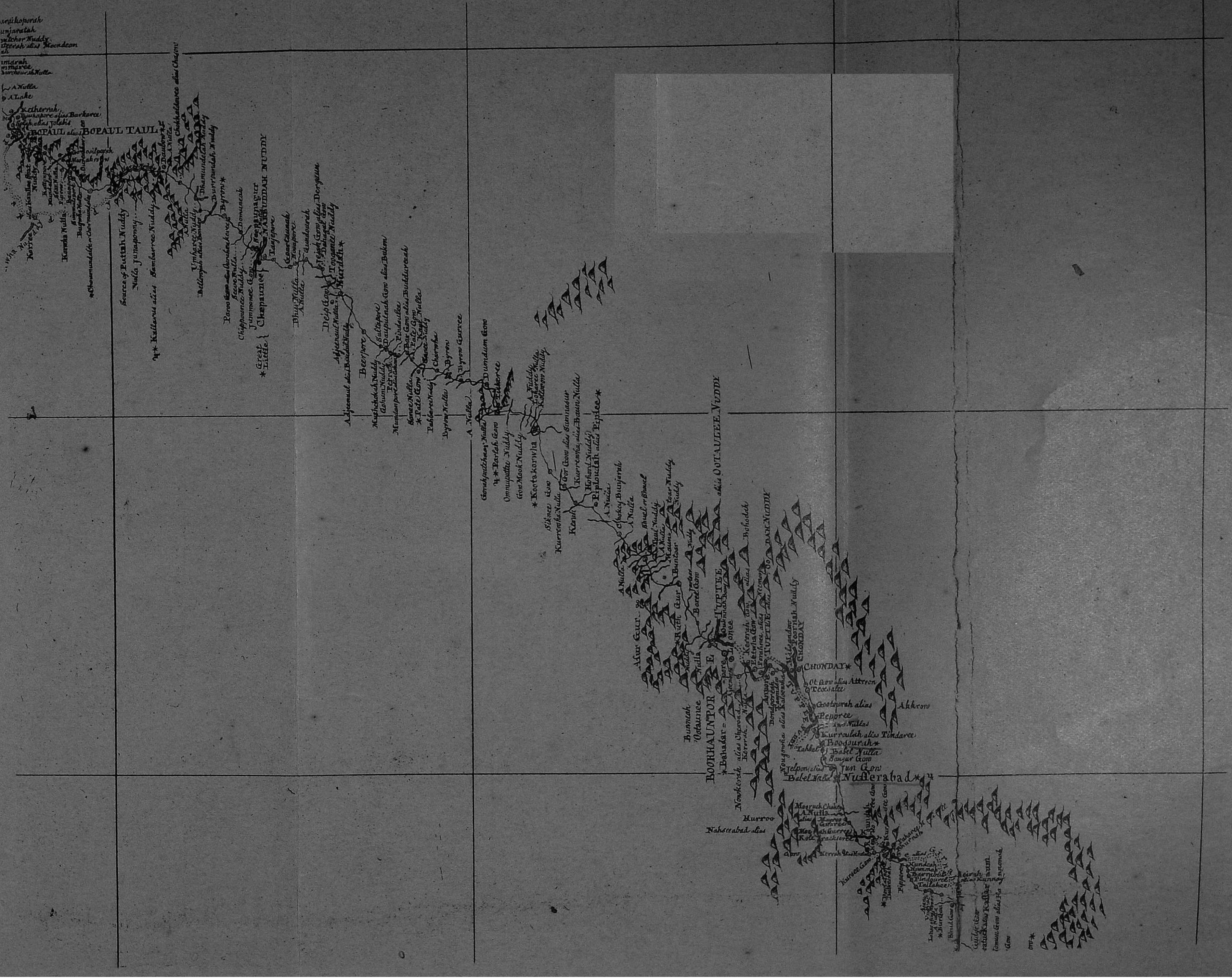
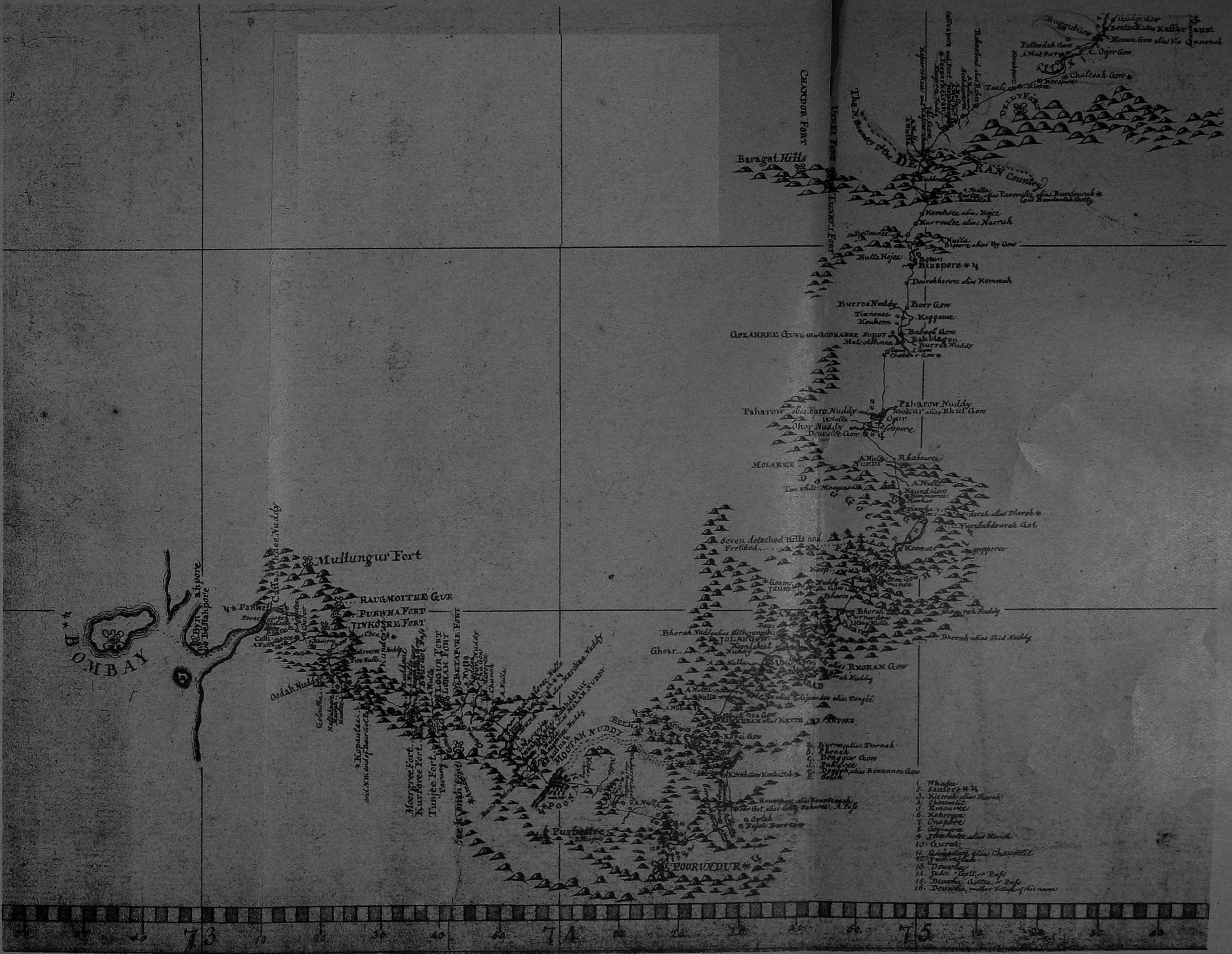
Jalcoan alias Jalvin
Mulmurrea
Burbulpore
Kooch alias Kaach
Pahar Gow
MOOT
MOAT
Bheka Gow
Lunddeeth
Bauddare alias Holdasah
A Nulla
A Chakey or Watch-House
Bussorah
Bikkur
Emmdleah
Bahadurpore
PUTTEAH
Lunkunnah
Rajahcee
Rajahcee Fort
Karawha Nulla
Bingrood
NARWHA
Maharatta Country
Sipparee
Rampore Nulla
The N.E. Boundry of
Kattarus
Ney Saray
Kutchnor Saray
SERONGE
Betwha Nuddy
Andeah
Bunjaretah
Dyverah


BOPAUL TAUL
NARBUDDAH NUDDY
Source of Puttah Nuddy
Dumdum Gow
Kootakorwia
OUTAULEE NUDDY
TURTEE
CHONDAY
Akkrow
Boorurah
Nusserabad
BOORHAUNPORE



BOMBAY
Panwell
Mullungur Fort
RAUGMOITHE GUR
PURWHA FORT
JINKOSRE FORT
Oodah Nuddy
Moorgree Fort
Kurloree Fort
Tunjee Fort
POONAH
MOOTAH NUDDY
BEEMAH NUDDY
Burbettee
POORUNDUR
CHANDOR FORT
Baragat Hills
The N. Boundary of the DECKAN Country
DELLY FORT
Chalesah Gow
Bisspore
Burree Nuddy
Boor Gow
Keggaree
GOZAHREE GUNGAM or GODABRE NUDDY
Paharow Nuddy
Paharow alias Faro Nuddy
Ohor Nuddy
MOLAREE
Two white Mosques
Seven detached Hills and Fortified
Ghoar
Bhorah alias Shid Nuddy
Whadar
Saulore
Chaumlil
Emourree
Kohergon
Oraspore
Gopinora
Cucrah
Jadoo Gott, or Pass
Deoolia Gottee or Pass
Deonghe, another Village of this name
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